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The California Historical Society *Quarterly*

Weird Note for the Vox Populi:
The Los Angeles *Municipal News*
By ROBERT W. DAVENPORT

Associations and Picnics as Stabilizing Forces
in Southern California
By JOSEPH BOSKIN

George P. Hammond and *The Larkin Papers*
By OSCAR OSBURN WINTHER

A Study of Graduate Research in California History
in California Colleges and Universities—Part III
By PAMELA A. BLEICH

MARCH 1965

Missionary in Sonora

THE TRAVEL REPORTS OF JOSEPH OCH, S.J.

Translated and annotated by THEODORE E. TREUTLEIN

In this first translation of the complete reports of Joseph Och, S.J., both historians and the general reader are introduced to a memorable personality and to his observations on the character of New Spain in a critical decade of the eighteenth century.

To the Spanish frontier missions of Pimería Alta (present-day Sonora) in 1756 came Father Och as an exuberant and dedicated young German priest. There, in the Jesuit missions established in the preceding century by Father Kino, Father Och labored among the Indians for eight years on the eve of the Spanish occupation of Alta California. His keen eye and long memory have preserved for us the details of Sonora Indian life and seem to touch on all aspects of native existence.

The account of the Jesuit expulsion from Mexico left by Father Och is the most complete and most important of the eyewitness accounts of this confusing and still controversial event, since he wrote about the suppression of the Society of Jesus in Spain's greatest Kingdom, New Spain, and in Spain's most famous overseas capital, Mexico. His account is particularly notable for his combining the details of local events with a sense of perspective about the entire expulsion operation.

Theodore E. Treutlein is Professor of History at San Francisco State College. He received his Ph.D. at the University of California where he was a student of Herbert E. Bolton. Dr. Treutlein has also edited Father Ignaz Pfefferkorn's *Sonora, A Description of a Province.*

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Weird Note for the Vox Populi: The Los Angeles *Municipal News*

By Robert W. Davenport

One day in April, 1912, an unusual newspaper appeared on the doorsteps of thousands of Los Angeles homes. On its logotype it declared that it was "A Newspaper Owned by the People." On its editorial page the Los Angeles *Municipal News* proudly announced that it was the first commercial-type newspaper ever published by a city. Unlike its contemporaries, this paper was not private property; it was a public press, voted into being by more than fifty-seven thousand people at the city election in December, 1911. It was a local protest against the excesses of yellow journalism, and its sponsors hoped it would improve the product of the Los Angeles press.

In Los Angeles and across the nation there were signs by 1910 that reform-minded Americans were losing confidence in newspapers. Sensationalism was commonplace, and newspapers in the larger cities had become big business. In California a good part of the press had walked hand-in-hand with the Southern Pacific Company, for many years the principal power in the state's politics. By selling news space and editorial influence, the press had buttressed corporation control and corruption, against which the progressive reforms of the period were directed.[1] Hiram Johnson complained in 1910 during his campaign for governor that only eight or ten "harpies of the press" could so delude the people of the state that "they are unable to see the right." He said that Californians had confidence in only four of the state's 149 daily

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newspapers: the Sacramento *Bee*, Fresno *Republican*, San Francisco *Bulletin*, and Los Angeles *Express*.[2]

Los Angeles had five daily newspapers in 1910 and a sixth appeared the following year. The *Express*, published by Edwin T. Earl, was the city's leading evening newspaper. Its editor, Edward A. Dickson, had been an organizer of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League and was in the forefront of progressive reforms. While the *Express* supported the progressive Good Government organization, the *Record*, a Scripps tabloid of lesser influence, favored labor unions and supported socialists in elections. Of least circulation and influence in the evening field was the *Herald*, a Democratic newspaper.

On the morning scene were the *Examiner*, *Times*, and *Tribune*. The *Examiner*, published by William Randolph Hearst, swung from Republican to Democratic in 1911. The *Times* was conservative Republican, and the *Tribune* was progressive. The latter, a penny paper, was founded by Earl in 1911 to give vigorous competition to the two other morning newspapers which sold for five cents. As a group, the morning newspapers had greater circulation than the afternoon ones.[3]

The press mirrored the city's restlessness. With 319,198 residents in 1910, Los Angeles had doubled in population since the turn of the century. It suffered from growing pains accompanying prosperity and vast real estate development. Also, bitter labor-management disputes plaguing the city reached a climax in 1910. The efforts of organized labor to make Los Angeles a "closed shop" town met vigorous resistance from manufacturers and other employers. They were spurred by General Harrison Gray Otis, publisher of the *Times* and a leader of the "open shop" movement. He fought labor unions and socialism with a vengeance in his pages. Then, in October, 1910, his newspaper plant lay in ruins, and twenty-one of his employees were dead—the victims of a planted bomb.

Otis, who as Robert G. Cleland said "hated as savagely as he himself was hated,"[4] continued his attacks on organized labor while engaging in periodic feuds with Earl. Each answered the other's volleys with salvos of his own. Commenting on a press squabble in July, 1911, a writer for the weekly Hollywood *Citizen* declared that the personal vendettas of rival publishers had damaged the prestige of the city's press. "To read the *Times, Examiner* and *Herald*," he wrote, "one would surely conclude that Edwin T. Earl . . . was the archdeacon of all criminality . . . the king of grafters." He also deplored "the readiness of the daily press to color and distort news to fit its own selfish ends."[5]

The *Citizen*, serving a community which had been annexed recently to Los Angeles, was not alone in agitating for more responsible journalism. George H. Dunlop, an attorney and a former mayor of Hollywood, was campaigning for a new voice in the press. Dunlop, a Progressive and secretary of the Direct Legislation League of California, felt that only with a municipally-owned newspaper could the public obtain the facts it needs for intelligent participation in city government. This had been placed more firmly in the public's hands by the initiative, referendum, and recall.

Dunlop also was critical of what he called the "thirst for sensational, even depraved reading matter" which he felt was thrust on the public by evil newspapers. He said it was simply another case of unrestrained commercial competition carried too far. Censorship, no matter how benevolently intended, was not the answer. In a speech the following year he declared: "Give us a high grade, publicly owned, daily newspaper, distributed free to every home in the city, and much that is bad with the other newspapers will cease to be profitable and will disappear."[6]

Dunlop persuaded the City Council to place his proposal on the ballot as an initiative measure in the election of December, 1911. The Good Government organization and the Socialist and Socialist Labor parties gave it their endorsement. Despite its socialistic, revolutionary nature, the newspaper proposal attracted little attention in the election. Ironically, it became an ordinance in the shadow of a vigorous newspaper campaign to defeat a Socialist slate of candidates for city posts. The Socialists had received a plurality of votes for mayor and some city posts in the October primary election. To most of the local press it seemed that the city was in grave peril. It appeared that its fate lay with some eighty-three thousand women eligible to vote in the December election for the first time in California.[7] The Republican *Times* and the Democratic *Examiner* and *Herald* abandoned their earlier candidates and joined forces with the *Express* and *Tribune* in backing the progressive candidates. They united in a desperate effort to save Los Angeles from what the *Times* warned would result in "strife, bloodshed, business suspensions and 'tight times.' "[8]

While most of the press focused on the major issue, only Earl's newspapers took a definite stand on the municipal newspaper. They urged voters to reject this progressive plank. The *Express* said, however, that it would support a public journal restricted to printing legal advertisements and the proceedings of official municipal bodies. It objected to the paper's format, which was to provide free space to political parties and to incumbents campaigning for re-election and to other successful candidates in city elections. The *Express* said the municipal newspaper would be an extravagance and would "operate on an absolutely unfair basis."[9] It did not mention, however, how it felt about the commercial advertisements the municipal newspaper would carry and which, in effect, would make the city a competitor of the private press.

On election day the voters delivered the city into Progressive hands and approved the newspaper proposal. The vote on the latter was 57,309 in favor to 43,643 opposed. The *Citizen* felt that the voters had only a vague idea as to what the new paper would be like.[10] But Dunlop later wrote that at the time of the election the voters felt strongly that the city's affairs were entirely too much in the hands of privately-owned newspapers with biased news columns and one-sided editorials. The voters, he said, wanted a newspaper that would treat municipal news prominently and accurately. They hoped it would present the arguments of various sides of public issues.[11]

Whether or not the voters were as strongly motivated as Dunlop suggests, these desires were reflected in the paper's policy, spelled out by the newspaper ordinance. The *Municipal News* was to publish facts, paying particular attention to accuracy. It was to concentrate on municipal news, or news pertaining to city government. It was to refrain from political or religious arguments and could not endorse candidates for public office. If the editor chose to wage an editorial campaign, he was not free to choose his own course. His opinions were to be "in harmony with those principles and measures which have been approved by the voters . . . or by ordinance or resolution of the Council." Opinions of those unhappy with the *status quo* could be published as news but could not be used as propaganda.

The newspaper was to be politically independent: no city official was to dictate to the editor. The latter was held personally responsible for libelous statements. He was required to post a bond of $3,000 to protect the city from court judgments arising from libel.

If the editor was restricted in expressing opinion, this was not true of the larger political parties. They were required to speak up. The ordinance specified that in each issue approximately forty-five square inches of space were to be granted free of charge to each political organization which polled more than 3 per cent of the total vote in either the last general state election or in a primary city election preceding a general municipal election. Parties qualifying for space were required further to appoint a press agent to write the columns. If the writer's work was of professional caliber he could be paid for his articles by the newspaper. If a party failed to appoint a press agent, the Municipal Newspaper Commission was to appoint someone to fill the space with articles presenting the party's views.

In like manner, up to twenty inches of free space were made available to the mayor and members of the city council during election campaigns. Five square inches of space were granted free of charge in any or all issues prior to elections to other candidates—if they won. If not, they were charged for the space they had used. The ordinance provided that the *Municipal News* was to be published weekly or more frequently. Copies were to sell for one cent each if mailed. Distribution at the newspaper office or at home by carrier was to be free.[12]

Provision also was made for management to be in the hands of a three-member Municipal Newspaper Commission. Dunlop and another attorney, H. O. Wheeler, Jr., and Dr. T. Perceval Gerson, a physician and a Socialist, were appointed to the commission by the mayor for four-year terms. They were subject to recall by the voters at any time. Moreover, they could be removed by the mayor and city council by ordinance, subject to referendum. Thus the citizens, and not city officials, had the final say in removing commission members.[13] At the first of the commission's eighty-seven weekly meetings Dunlop was elected president and Wheeler secretary. Commission members served without pay.

While the commission acted as publisher, Robert E. Rinehart headed the editorial department. Rinehart was hired away from the Scripps-

McRae organization in Sacramento and formerly had served on the staff of the *Record*. The commission first offered the editorship to Charles Zeublin, editor of the liberal *Twentieth-Century* magazine in Boston.[14] Zeublin apparently made himself unavailable when he asked the commission to match his current salary, considerably greater than the $2609.92 a year paid Rinehart.[15]

Gerson encouraged Zeublin to accept the position by saying that the *Municipal News* would be "the uniquest, completest opportunity to hasten the dawn of Democracy ever presented to any people—a Free Press." He added that there would be no compromise with truth and justice, no partisanship nor bias.[16] Gerson explained that the commission hoped that its newspaper would become a daily,[17] and he added that it was not expected to show a profit.[18]

To get things started, the city appropriated $18,000 to help finance the operation during the remainder of the fiscal year. The ordinance specified that no less than $36,000 was to be appropriated annually thereafter by the city for the newspaper's support.[19]

From the editorial office at 122 East Market Street and the business office in the city hall annex, Rinehart and his staff of ten employees produced the first issue. It appeared on April 17 and was distributed free to homes within the city limits. The commission had aimed at a circulation of sixty thousand copies, but printing and delivery problems caused it to fall somewhat short of this goal the first week.[20] The paper was to be printed by a commercial firm, but immediate production problems caused the city to do its own printing. A high-speed press and stereotype equipment were purchased from the *Herald* for $13,500 and installed on a site on Avenue Twenty. A building also serving as a machine shop and garage for the city was built around the press. Problems also arose in distribution. A "large corps" of carriers was employed, but the newspaper implied in June that on occasion bundles of papers were abandoned by carriers before delivery and that sometimes more than one paper was left at a door.[21]

The growing pains were common ones, but the new twelve-page newspaper boasted that it, certainly, was uncommon. In its own words it was "the first municipal newspaper in the world—the first newspaper owned by the people . . . and built for their control." The New York *Independent* contested the claim. The *Municipal News* quoted it as saying that the Tching-Pao, or *Peking News*, founded in the time of Charlemagne, was also a municipal newspaper. The new voice in Los Angeles retorted that it would not yield to the "Municipal News of Ping Pong" or to anybody else claiming to be a municipal newspaper. "Antiquarians," it concluded, "are ever eager to discredit modern originality by raking a prototype out of the historical junk heap; and when they are hard pressed to cheat the present they fall back on China."[22]

Other reactions, also quoted in the *Municipal News*, came from newspapers on two continents. Most of the local press, however, was conspicuous by its silence. The London *Chronicle* hailed the project as a logical step toward educating voters for responsible citizenship. The St. Louis *Mirror* said that if the *Municipal News* succeeded it would mean a "new and almost revolutionary departure in American journalism."[23] The London *Typographical Journal* warned that the experiment might prove unsuccessful since government publications had a tendency to be dry as dust. Words of praise came from the Hollywood *Citizen*, but in Northern California a writer for the Stockton *Mail* called it "the latest freak of Bugville-in-the-Sun." He remarked, "What a peach, what a peach this thing will be! Bugville in her freakish mood."[24]

Actually, the *Municipal News* was conservative both in content and appearance. Below unpretentious headlines on quiet pages were news stories whose freakishness lay in their lack of sensation or bias. They were primarily reports of the proceedings of municipal agencies, and the editorials concerned themselves with problems of city government and the responsibilities of citizens. The editor regularly presented illustrated feature articles on people in city government, on the operation of a governmental agency, or on some civic problem such as slum clearance or aqueduct construction. Another regular feature was a listing of petitions for street improvements and sewers filed by property owners with the city clerk. Under columns entitled "Watch Your Improvement" and "Where Your Petition Is" readers could keep an eye on the wheels of government as action was taken on their petitions.

But the *Municipal News* had other interests besides government. It carried columns on women's fashions and music, as well as one devoted to new products and bargains in the stores. Later there were news and feature articles about events in the city's public schools. Unlike the metropolitan press, the municipal newspaper did not indulge in gossip or sensational crime stories to attract readers. It was primarily a serious informer, not an entertainer.

One thing it gave readers which they could not obtain elsewhere in the press was a fair and equal treatment in a single newspaper of the arguments for and against proposed city ordinances put to voters for decision. This the *Municipal News* did regularly with parallel columns. Under a two-column headline was a summary of a proposed ordinance, and under the summary, side by side and of equal length, were placed the arguments pro and con. Proposals to have the city regulate streetcar fares, to require a tuberculin skin test for dairy cows, and to add two Socialists to the aqueduct investigation committee, among others, were discussed at length. The paper's policy required accuracy. Only one complaint was received that a misstatement had been made.[25]

A complaint that brought the newspaper into an argument, even before the first issue, arose over the space donated free to political parties. The Republican County Central Committee objected to the requirement that it submit copy to fill space reserved for it. The Republican, Democratic, Good Government, Socialist, and Socialist Labor parties were entitled by law to equal space, amounting to about fifteen inches each week, on the "Politics Page." Officers of the Republican committee declared in a letter to the editor that they were opposed to using a municipally-financed newspaper for partisan purposes. They said in part: "We believe with Theodore Roosevelt that—'The worst evils that affect our local government arise from and are the result of the mixing up of the city affairs with the party politics of the nation and of the state.'"[26]

The letter asked that these and other comments made therein opposing the free forum be published weekly until further notice in the Republican column. This the editor did in the first several issues, adding a note of his own. He accused the Republicans of seeking to prevent other parties from using space that cost the taxpayers fifteen dollars each issue. On May 1 the Republicans said in their column that the *Municipal News* represented a "worse than useless expenditure of funds." They also accused it of promoting political machine government.[27]

If the political columns drew fire from the conservative Republicans, it was George Dunlop's hope that they would prove valuable as a watchdog for the rest of the newspaper. Party writers were free to take issue with what was written in other parts of the paper and to criticize its management. The parties generally used their space, however, to explain their principles. Some confined their comments to national and state issues; others criticized city officials. The Democrats once took a stand in defense of college graduates. The Socialists used space to describe a new clubhouse for young Socialists, while the Socialist Laborites publicized a picnic for the comrades. On the whole, the "Politics Page" was a delightful potpourri of opinion, a distinct contrast to what readers could expect from other newspapers.

Concern for the reader's welfare was not limited to the editorial department. Advertisements were solicited to help defray expenses, but classified advertisements of job offers or requests for employment were available to individuals free of charge. The commission adopted rigid ethical standards to protect readers from false or misleading claims. It excluded certain types of ads commonly found in other newspapers. These included those for medical services, attorneys, liquor, clairvoyance, hypnotism, crystal gazing, phrenology, and loan sharks. It also excluded "readers," or advertisements disguised as news stories.[28] Ernest Ingold, assistant to the president of the Los Angeles Investment Company, was quoted in the *Municipal News* as saying that the policy was "one of the strongest stands against dishonest advertising . . . [that] has ever been taken."[29] But despite the selectivity, advertisements filled 60 per cent of the space of the first issue.

However, the revenue from advertising was never enough to place a free copy of the paper on every doorstep in town. The city provided only enough money for thirty thousand copies of eight pages each issue if distributed free of charge.[30] Anything more depended on what advertising revenue the paper received. And for a number of months this was sufficient for a circulation of sixty thousand copies.

Instead of expanding, the paper soon showed signs of faltering. It was reduced from twelve to eight pages shortly after publication began. For some reason advertising also fell from 1,706 inches in the first issue to 334 inches by October 16. Three months later it filled 339 inches, or 28 per cent of the total space. By February, 1913, circulation had fallen to thirty thousand copies, of which half had been specifically requested by individuals and organizations.[31]

Earlier, when the *Municipal News* spoke hopefully in the summer of 1912 of becoming a daily with a circulation of eighty thousand, a railroad ticket arrived for George Dunlop from Madison, Wisconsin. The University of Wisconsin wanted him to speak there in August to a group of newspapermen and professors on the municipal newspaper as a possible measure for press reform. The *Municipal News* greeted the invitation by saying:

> . . . [we are] being carefully watched by municipal experts and students of journalism both in this country and abroad. Those who have not approached the municipal newspaper with previously enforced bias, have hailed it with enthusiasm.[32]

In his Wisconsin speech Dunlop said he was convinced that daily newspapers publicly owned and covering the entire field of journalism should be published in competition with the commercial press. Evidently fearful that Dunlop's remarks might prove contagious, the Chicago *Tribune* reported that Dunlop said publication once a week was enough for a municipal newspaper and that it should be restricted to news of city government.[33]

If the idea of municipal newspapers was unpalatable to the *Tribune*, it was equally distasteful to the press in Los Angeles. As the *Municipal News* approached its second year of publication, local opposition in the press was gathering momentum. In February, 1913, the *Citizen* said the agitation was brought about solely by the newspapers of the city.[34] That same month the local branch of the Municipal League persuaded the city council to place an initiative measure on the ballot at the city charter election on March 19 to abolish the *Municipal News*. The latter then admitted in an editorial that "There has always existed a violent opposition to the Municipal News." It said that a trial of at least two years had been expected but that "the uncompromising opponents . . . have forced a vote."[35]

The newspaper waged a vigorous campaign for self-preservation. It denied that its funds had been spent extravagantly as some had charged, but it admitted that distribution had been a problem at first, with bundles of newspapers going astray and some routes poorly serviced.

However, it pointed with pride to what had been accomplished in advertising sales and circulation "in the face of hostility from the commercial interests of the city."[36] Opposition came from other quarters as well. Some felt that the daily newspapers were sufficient, or that the municipal newspaper should be merely a formal journal of city business, or that it was too expensive, considering that most people had not requested its delivery to their homes.[37]

While the *Municipal News* aired the charges against it and pleaded for votes to save its life, the metropolitan press chose to ignore the issue. Finally on election day the most influential members, the *Times, Examiner,* and *Express,* appeared with their recommendations on marked ballots. They urged a quick death for the *Municipal News.* The *Record,* despite its support of socialism, made no recommendation.

The voters filed to the polls and killed the newspaper by more than 24,000 of the 39,867 votes cast. Publication continued, however, until the second week in April, 1913. The *Times* celebrated the demise with a front-page news story in which it said that the *Municipal News* had been "conceived in error and born with pre-natal tendencies to damphoolishness." It also said:

> The last edition of the News will be circulated, i.e., thrown in the gutter today. The Municipal News is a municipal failure, and the people swatted it hip and thigh at the recent . . . election. . . . The paper became a newsless wonder. . . . Its news columns were colored by the views of the administration . . . . It was a convenient dumping ground for the money of the taxpayers. . . . Nobody took it seriously, with the possible exception of Daddy Dunlop, who takes everything seriously, even proportional representation.[38]

That same day the *Municipal News* declared that it had never been accused of a misstatement caused by bias or policy. It maintained that it failed because not enough of its supporters went to the polls. Then, in a last breath, it recommended that local political parties be formed to save the city from the control of newspaper bosses.[39]

If voter apathy had helped to kill the newspaper, there were other causes in addition to those already a part of this story. Gerson later wrote that the newspaper proposition on the ballot was ambiguous: to save the newspaper meant voting "no." He mentioned a persistent enmity in the form of "ridicule, malicious misrepresentation or conspiracy of silence of the privately owned press." Some people were opposed to commercial advertisements in the newspaper; others wanted a more intellectual presentation of political news. Gerson also wrote that he knew of several Socialists who planned to vote against the paper because they felt that the Socialist Labor party had abused the cause of socialism in its party column.[40]

However varied the causes of failure, the maverick had been doomed from birth. Like the progressivism that fathered it, the people's paper was a protest. But to the capitalist metropolitan press it was primarily socialism in action and secondarily an idealistic reformer. It was never welcome for either reason. Unlike its powerful colleagues, the *Municipal News* was not a persuader. It was founded on the idea that if man is given all the facts he will choose the right course. Although the people of Los Angeles abandoned their experiment in journalistic reform, the ideas which the municipal newspaper put into practice are with us today. Some the press has adopted, but others still are considered too revolutionary.

NOTES

1. George E. Mowry, *The California Progressives* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951), p. 13.

2. Hiram W. Johnson, *Address of Hiram W. Johnson, Candidate for the Republican Nomination for Governor of California, Delivered at Blanchard Hall, Los Angeles, California, Friday, June 3, 1910* (n.p., 1910?), p. 2. Edward A. Dickson Papers.

3. Weekday circulation of the six Los Angeles daily newspapers in 1912 was as follows: *Examiner*, 65,760; *Express*, 57,642; *Tribune*, 55,000 (estimated); *Times*, 54,890; *Record*, 42,921; *Herald*, 20,670. N.W. Ayer and Sons, *American Newspaper Annual and Directory* (Philadelphia, 1913), p. 73.

4. Robert G. Cleland, *California in our Time, 1900-1940* (New York, 1947), p. 70.

5. Hollywood *Citizen* (July 14, 1911), p. 2.

6. George H. Dunlop, "A Publicly Owned Newspaper," *The Public*, XV, No. 749 (August 9, 1912), 762.

7. The *Examiner* estimated that 75,000 of the 140,000 votes cast were those of women. Los Angeles *Examiner* (December 6, 1911), p. 1.

8. Los Angeles *Times* (November 19, 1911), II, 4.

9. Los Angeles *Express* (December 1, 1911), p. 14.

10. *Citizen* (February 14, 1913), p. 2.

11. George H. Dunlop, "Municipal Newspaper," *National Municipal Review*, I, No. 3 (July, 1912), 442-443.

12. Los Angeles Municipal Ordinance No. 23960, Sec. 5-7.

13. *Ibid.*

14. T. Perceval Gerson to Charles Zeublin, January 25, 1912, and March 22, 1912. Gerson MSS.

15. Los Angeles Municipal Newspaper Commission, Minutes of the Meetings (February 13, 1912), p. 6.

16. Gerson to Zeublin, January 25, 1912.

17. *Ibid.*, March 22, 1912.

18. *Ibid.*, January 25, 1912.

19. Ordinance, *op. cit.*, Sec. 7.

20. Los Angeles *Municipal News* (April 24, 1912), p. 8.

21. *Ibid.* (June 12, 1912), p. 3.

22. *Ibid.* (April 17, 1912), p. 8.

23. As quoted in *ibid.* (June 5, 1912), p. 8.

24. As quoted in *ibid.* (April 17, 1912), p. 8.

25. Minutes, *op. cit.* (June 12, 1912), p. 33.

26. As quoted in *Municipal News, op. cit.*, p. 9.

27. *Ibid.* (May 1, 1912), p. 9.

28. Minutes, *op. cit.* (May 1, 1912), p. 4.

29. *Municipal News, op. cit.*, p. 2.

30. *Ibid.* (April 24, 1912), p. 8.

31. *Ibid.* (February 19, 1913), p. 1.

32. *Ibid.* (July 10, 1912), p. 2.

33. As quoted in "The First National Newspaper Conference," *The Public, op. cit.*, p. 750.

34. *Citizen* (February 14, 1913), p. 2.

35. *Municipal News* (February 26, 1913), p. 1.

36. *Ibid.* (March 12, 1913), p. 1.

37. *Ibid.* (March 19, 1913), p. 1.

38. *Times* (April 9, 1913) II, 1.

39. *Municipal News* (April 9, 1913), p. 4.

40. T. Perceval Gerson to Louis Post, April 29, 1913. Gerson MSS.

Associations and Picnics as Stabilizing Forces in Southern California

By JOSEPH BOSKIN

IN THE SUMMER of 1882—immediately prior to the first of many land booms and migration movements in Southern California—a group of Pennsylvanians who had recently settled in the southern regions of California, came together for the purpose of establishing a Pennsylvania State Society. Under the direction of Colonel C. H. Haskins, a retired Civil War veteran, and Samuel Brown, a Regular Army activitist, the Society moved eagerly to set a date for a picnic for former residents of Pennsylvania. The need for such an organization, and for the picnic as a primary expression of familiarity, was noted by Colonel Haskins many years later: "We were always so anxious to get together that we don't have just one picnic a year [as we used to]. We have three . . ."[1]

Similar organizations and picnics were initiated in quick succession. Between the 1880's and the 1930's forty-eight state organizations as well as a host of smaller aggregates representing cities, towns, and geographic sections were created and flourished.[2] Within this same period, three All-State societies—the Federation of State Societies of Los Angeles, the All States Society of Long Beach, and the All States Picnic of Ontario—were established and thereafter many of the state and lesser association efforts were channeled into three massive picnics.

Although the picnic remains the pivotal social event, state and local societies have expanded their programs to include various types of informal and formal social functions ranging from outings to lectures.

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Nevertheless, these subsidiary activities tend to complement the picnic which continues to be the primary manner of group expression. Hundreds of thousands of persons converge on picnic grounds in Southern California each year for the purposes of paying homage to the past, renewing old acquaintances, developing new relationships for the future and thus ameliorating a sense of dislocation in the immediate. As they are practiced in Southern California, the town, state and All State picnics are a unique aspect of recent social history. In no other state or region has the state society and the picnic developed to such proportions.[3]

What are the factors which have produced this social phenomena? The purposes of this paper are first, to analyze the causes which have given rise to these associations and picnics, and second, to note the ways in which the programs and picnics act as stabilizing forces for these who have migrated to Southern California.

A major factor relating to the formations of these societies has been the unusual and dynamic development of the city of Los Angeles and its environs. A small, rural, farming and ranching area in the nineteenth century, Los Angeles was quickly transformed into a sprawling city by a series of land booms, oil discoveries, and by the advent of automobiles in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Between 1887 and 1889, sixty towns suddenly burst forth on the landscape. As heavy population movements continued to inundate the Los Angeles basin, the thrust was towards the Pacific Ocean. The resulting shift had lasting effects for the city. Los Angeles slowly lost its urban attraction, and a second urban core emerged thirty miles to the north and west, the city of Beverly Hills. Thus, the community loosely termed Los Angeles, developed not one, but two urban centers, each in competition with the other and each further contributing to the sprawling nature of the area. As a consequence, within the short space of fifty years, Los Angeles has become one of the leading examples of a multi-suburban oriented metropolis.[4]

Among the many profound social ramifications resulting from the continuing flow of population into and within Los Angeles, and the swift appearance of new communities, has been a sense of dislocation and uprootedness.[5] In an effort to regain equilibrium, "old home" community associations have been established.

This process of banding together into associations comprised of peoples from similar backgrounds has its parallel in the immigration movements in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although the problems of assimilation were more complex and intense for the European immigrant—regardless of origin or ethnic derivation—than for the migrant to the Los Angeles area, nevertheless the need for in-group familiarity has been a comparable factor for both groups. In response to the vicissitudes of settlement, remarkably similar cultural organizations have developed. In eastern cities and towns, organizations such as fraternal groups, nationalistic clubs, educational associations and the like were founded to provide an oasis of comfortable, familiar "old home" life and to facilitate assimilation in the new culture. As Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller in their *Old World Traits Transplanted* have noted:

> . . . the different immigrant groups have formed spontaneously in America, organizations that reproduce to some extent the home society or replace it with forms more adapted to the needs of the immigrant here. . . . They [immigrant organizations] are primary devices to make life go on with some success and efficiency . . .[6]

The counterpart to these immigrant cultural associations are the local and state societies in Southern California. Similar to the eastern organizations, these groups have become social centers through which new migrants can communicate with older settlers. The quest for a sense of security and stability through the familiar has produced such devices as the picnic, excursions, cake walks, musicales, and so on. Thus the problems of adjustment, attenuated by constant moving, have been partially mitigated by these associations and their programs.

An important factor which further intensified the need to re-create the "familiar group" was that of age. Significantly, the associations were initiated by individuals whose roots were deep in the communities from which they had departed.[7] The population movements into Southern California in the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries contained large numbers of retired or semiretired persons from the mid-west. Farmers, businessmen, and the ailing were attracted to the region by its climate, health cure possibilities, and orange grove atmosphere.[8]

A sizeable proportion of the migrants to Southern California, in fact, emanated from small, compact, in-grown and agrarian mid- and southwestern communities. Characteristic of the life from which many had departed was an emphasis on communal activities. Church affairs, corn huskings, harvest fetes, and picnics were several of the more important outlets of the community. The picnic in particular was an integral part of other traditional social functions including Thanksgiving, Fourth of July celebrations, post harvests, political rallies, and religious festivities.[9] Hamlin Garland in *A Son of the Middle Border* wrote of the Granger picnics: "Nothing more picturesque, more delightful, more helpful has ever risen out of American rural life. Each of these assemblies was a more grateful relief from the sordid loneliness of the farm."[10] Many communities not related to the Granger movement had neighborhood picnics called "Old Settler's Day"; these were commonplace in the latter half of the nineteenth century.[11]

The picnic, therefore, is an extension of the familiar way of rural life and within Southern California has been utilized to assist in the process of assimilation. The extent to which the picnic has been used, however, is directly related to the favorable climatic conditions in Southern California.

The purposes and programs of the various societies further accent the desires of the migrants to re-establish the traditions of the past in a new environment. "The purposes of this Society," states the All State Society of Long Beach, "is to . . . keep alive the ties and friendships affiliated with the Home State from which so many have migrated to California" and "to develop sociability, fraternalism, good fellowship, and patriotism."[12] Describing the city of Long Beach as "The Picnic Capital of the World," the society invites persons "to visit and enjoy meeting friends and neighbors from your Home Town or State, at Club Meetings and Picnics."[13] In addition, the society assists the individual state organizations "in all of their activities, particularly in relation to their State Picnic dates and locations [and] monthly meetings."[14]

As previously noted, the All States Society of Long Beach is one of three operating groups and the second major organization to have been so formed. The first association which incorporated the many state and local groups was the Federation of State Societies in Los Angeles, created through the efforts of Charles H. Parsons, a former Iowan and the secretary of the Pasadena Y.M.C.A. Parsons organized the federation into various state chapters, thereby following its initial pattern, and incorporated the organization in 1913. Until his death in 1945, Parsons remained the federation's main driving force.

A parallel situation occurred in Ontario, California, several years later. In 1916 the chamber of commerce provided an annual dinner for all out of state persons and seated them according to state or local origins.[15] The annual affair expanded with the growing population, and in the spring of 1939 the first Ontario-sponsored All States Picnic was held. As might be expected, the form which the picnic assumed was identical to that of the other organizations. According to a chamber of commerce bulletin, the affair was devised in order

> to develop an increased civic interest, to promote co-operation in all matters of interest to the people of the community and to promote and keep alive the ties and friendship of the home state to which so many have come to California.[16]

The nature of these programs reflect the dual need of retaining elements of the past and of proving that the move to Southern California was beneficial. The Long Beach *Press-Telegram* noted this duality when it commented on the 45th Annual Iowa Picnic:

> They grouped under shady eucalyptus trees to eat home-made sandwiches and chuckle with old friends about almost forgotten incidents. They also remembered the humid summer heat of Iowa and savored the soft breeze against their cheeks.[17]

In typical nineteenth-century manner, these picnics are a potpourri of music, singing, entertainment, speakers, and games. For the most part, however, the program is apolitical and noncontroversial in nature. Issues or topics which might detract from the spirit of the occasion are purposely avoided, for the affair is designed not only to recapture the past but to idealize it as well. Consequently, the many speeches deal with the changes which have occurred in the "old home state" or other subjects of a reminiscent nature. The ninth picnic and parade of the Ontario All States Picnic, for example, had as its major theme the subject of "Hometown Memories." Interestingly, the Pennsylvania Society's float was selected as the outstanding one of the day. The float depicted a Christmas scene; the date of the event was July 7.[18]

The "hometown" theme is a recurrent one throughout most affairs.

The historian of the Moline Club selects relevant items from hometown newspapers and pastes them on a long sheet made available for reading at the annual picnic.[19] At the large All State picnics, each state provides a register which contains pertinent information relating to past residents, relatives, and other like items. Persons desiring to contact others from the same town consult the list and may then page the party over loud speakers. The past is quickly revived and relived.[20]

Each picnic is thus a variation on a theme of sentimentality and familiarity. Illustrative of the entire process are the Iowa picnics, the largest state affairs in the region. Between fifteen to fifty thousand persons attend the festivities—one held at Los Angeles, the other in Long Beach.[21] Following the opening ceremony, which usually involves the Long Beach Municipal Band performing selections by Iowa composers and the posting of the colors, the event officially commences with a speech by the mayor and a response by the president of the Iowa Association. Typical of the oratory were the remarks of the president at the fifty-second picnic at Long Beach in which he exclaimed: "The clocks are being turned back forty or fifty years a good many times today."[22] The tone established, the program then proceeds to the general fare: bands, speeches, and general merrymaking. At the fiftieth annual fete, the band played a concert featuring the works of Iowa composers; an "Extravaganze Phantastiques" was performed; introductions of distinguished guests were made; and the program concluded with the singing of a Meredith Willson piece, "May the Good God Bless and Keep You."[23]

Short speeches by former and presiding residents are an important part of the fare. At the Iowa picnics, such personages as Herbert Hoover, James Van Allen, Meredith Willson share the platform with California legislators and others.

The featured speaker, however, is frequently the governor of the state sponsoring the picnic. In 1956, the governor of Iowa, Leonard A. Hoegh, brought a 23½ foot corn stalk to the platform and ruefully commented to the large number of Iowans: "We're losing too many of you good people to California—so won't you please come home?"[24] The governor's wife then brought the crowd to its feet, hands extended in the air, and led them in the "Iowa Corn Song" and "Little Brown Church in the Vale."[25] Not all Iowa governors have been as courteous, however. Dan Harding, a former governor, delivered one of the shortest and most caustic speeches in Iowa picnic history:

> Ladies and Gentlemen, I understand that about 10,000 former Iowans are here today (applause). I just want you to know that we haven't missed a damned one of you.[26]

Although political issues are largely neglected, picnics have been used by political figures. State senators, assemblymen, governors and local officials frequently make an appearance in order to stimulate or to maintain goodwill. Governors from other states also make the trek to the picnics prompted by the realization that communications with relatives and friends in the "old home state" are maintained. Occasionally, a politician will utilize the platform to secure votes. Richard Nixon delivered a speech at one of the All States picnics in 1960. State Senator Richard Richards—a former resident of Cedar Rapids who migrated to California in 1926—used a similar occasion to review the tidelands oil struggle between the state and Long Beach and assailed the "state-wide effort to reach out into the great shining grab-bag of Long Beach tidelands money." He closed his speech by recalling "the rolling hills, the black loam, and the golden corn" of Iowa.[27]

In recent decades the programs of the state societies have expanded considerably. Chartered bus trips to various California sites bring hometown acquaintances and strangers together with greater frequency.[28] A repeated excursion of the Los Angeles Federation of State Societies is particularly significant because it reflects the age-level of many of its members and because it presages certain changes within the society itself. One of the many senior developments is explored in order to afford elderly members an opportunity to observe the structure and daily routine of the communities. Although statistics are lacking, there is a strong indication that as a result of this contact many financially able members resettle in one of these communities.[29]

One might hypothesize that the state societies will be altered by the changing character of population movements into and within Southern California. The number of senior citizens involved in the Los Angeles Federation is on the wane, and their numbers are not being replaced by the newcomers. Many younger migrants lack comparable hometown ties and tend to settle in Orange County.

Nevertheless, it seems certain that state societies and picnics will continue to flourish in Southern California. Thus, as with the European immigrant, the Southern California migrant has found it necessary to create cultural organizations which provide a connecting link with the past. The old fashioned picnic, albeit apolitical and unrelated to harvests or holidays, has become a tradition of these organizations and is one of the primary means by which the past and present are blended and reconciled.

NOTES

1. Long Beach *Press-Telegram*, July 17, 1932.

2. The development of state and local societies has been ignored in the major works dealing with Los Angeles and Southern California. A partial listing of town, city, county, and sectional organizations would include the following: Iowa Falls, Iowa; Port Huron, Michigan; Fremont, Nebraska; Blackfoot, Idaho; Whatcom County, Washington; Battle Creek, Michigan; Ellsworth County, Kansas; Moline, Illinois; the New England States Society; Kansas-Ohio Club.

3. An analogous situation, however, has developed in St. Petersburg, Florida, a resort area which has attracted many elderly persons for health and retirement purposes. The first associations, called "tourist societies," were formed in 1902 or 1903 by former residents of either the state of Illinois or Indiana. There are now twenty-three such organizations. The services performed by these groups are quite similar to those programs of the societies in Southern California. Picnics, however, are not the main form of social recreation. St. Petersburg *Times*, October 23, 1963.

On the other hand, several states have established separate picnic departments which supervise hundreds of outings for industrial plants, labor unions, churches, lodges, schools and different types of civic groups.

4. The growth, expansion and integration of the various communities of Los Angeles has been analyzed in depth in sixteen volume reports of the Haynes Foundation, *Metropolitan Los Angeles: A Study in Integration.* See also the pamphlets of the foundation which deal with related subjects; the works of the Southern California Research Council; and Morrow May, *Los Angeles* (New York: Knopf, 1933).

5. The concept of the "uprooted" is advanced by Oscar Handlin in *The Uprooted* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1951) who argues that "the history of immigration is a study of alienation and its consequences." The development of group consciousness is but one of these consequences. I would suggest that within the context of this paper the removal from familiar surroundings produces feelings of disorientation and the need for group solidarity. For a refuta-

tion of the thesis of alienation, see Rudolph J. Vecoli, "Contadini in Chicago: A Critique of *The Uprooted*," *The Journal of American History*, LI (December, 1964).

6. (New York: Harper & Bros., 1921), pp. 121, 119-144. Park and Miller also identify two other primary types of organizations which served as agencies of assimilation, the first-aid institutions and the mutual aid and benefit societies. For obvious reasons neither of these types have developed in Southern California. Good summaries and analyses of the purposes and activities of these groups are in William Carlson Smith, *Americans in the Making* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1939); Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-1863* (Kings Crown Press, Columbia Univ. Press, 1949); and Lawrence Guy Brown, *Immigration: Cultural Conflicts and Social Adjustments* (New York: Longman's Green and Co., 1933).

7. *Interview*, Frank Robinson, president of the Federation of the All States Society of Los Angeles, July 10, 1964.

8. Informative analyses of the relationship between climate and migration are contained in Oscar Osburn Winther, "The Use of Climate as a Means of Promoting Migration to Southern California," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXIII (December, 1946), 411-424; John E. Baur, *The Health Seekers of Southern California: 1870-1900* (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1959).

9. The picnic as a subject of analysis has not exactly been one of very deep concern for social historians or sociologists. There are no works of note in this area, and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* has not thought the subject worthy of mention. Indeed, the very word "picnic" in connection with an academic paper usually brings querulous smiles and fixed looks.

10. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1922), p. 166.

11. Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Modern America* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927), p. 156. The picnic as a form of communal recreation in different periods in history is treated by Foster Rhea Dulles, *America Learns to Play* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940).

The universality of the picnic is used by William Inge in his play *Picnic*. The main character, Hal, is portrayed as a unique figure, having been denied this experience:

Hal: Look, Seymour, I . . . I never been on a picnic.
Alan: Not even when you were a kid?
Hal: No.
Alan: Why, that's impossible. Everybody's been on a picnic.
Hal: Not me. I wouldn't go on picnics. I was too busy shooting craps or stealing milk bottles.

12. Brochure, *The All States Society and the City of Long Beach, California*, Public Information Bureau, 1964, p. 4.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *The Daily Report* (Ontario-Upland, California), July 3, 1964.

16. Brochure, *All States Picnic, Inc.*, Chamber of Commerce, Ontario, California, 1964.

17. August 12, 1956.

18. *The Daily Report,* August 3, 1964.

19. *Interview,* Frank Robinson, September 10, 1964.

20. In addition, a master register is maintained at the Information Bureau of Long Beach "providing opportunity for all visitors to sign." This is of "great assistance to all in locating friends and relatives from the old home locale." *Letter,* Marshall Craig, November 14, 1964, p. 2.

21. Originally one picnic in Los Angeles served for all ex-Iowans. In the 1940's, however, a conflict developed over whether the city of Long Beach or Los Angeles should host the event. The "great Iowa picnic schism" was healed when a compromise was affected in 1950. Two picnics, one in Los Angeles in February, and the other in Long Beach in August, were to be held each year. The Long Beach *Press-Telegram,* a newspaper which has followed the activities of its community picnic, has wryly suggested that the Iowa picnic is atypical of such affairs: "The Iowa picnic is distinct mainly because it is the only place in the world where you can find more of Iowa than in Iowa itself." (August 15, 1955.)

22. Long Beach *Press-Telegram,* August 18, 1957.

23. *Ibid.*, August 14, 1955. Meredith Willson is a highly prolific musical composer. Among his works is the musical comedy, *The Music Man,* a play about a music instrument salesman who attempts to convince a midwestern community —presumably in Iowa—to purchase enough instruments to outfit a high school band.

24. Long Beach *Press-Telegram,* August 19, 1956. So painful was the exodus that in 1963 a sign appeared on an Iowa highway with the hopeful message: "There Is No California."

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*, August 23, 1956.

27. *Ibid.*, August 4, 1955.

28. The itineraries of the all states societies of Long Beach and Los Angeles and the smaller associations list trips to lectures, television shows, movies, parades, historic sites, pageants, baseball games, museums, county fairs, etc.

29. *Interview,* Frank Robinson, October 26, 1964.

George P. Hammond and *The Larkin Papers**

By Oscar Osburn Winther

George P. Hammond retires this year with honors as director of the Bancroft Library. A lasting and impressive monument to his industry, perseverance, and skill as an editor and historian is the ten-volume *The Larkin Papers: Personal, Business, and Official Correspondence of Thomas Oliver Larkin, Merchant and United States Consul in California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951-1964). Long before he became director, in 1946, of the famous Western American history library at University of California, Berkeley, Hammond (a student of Herbert E. Bolton) had been a well known and an established scholar in the field of Latin American history. While professor at the University of Texas, Southern California, University of Arizona, and, mainly, at the University of New Mexico, Hammond did much to advance Latin-American studies, authored numerous books and articles, and edited still other works that pertain mainly to the conquistadores of New Spain and to related aspects of the northwestward movement of the Spanish into what is today southwest United States. Several of these were done in collaboration with Indiana University's Agapito Rey, and knowledge of the team Hammond and Rey has been a classroom

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**The Larkin Papers: Personal, Business, and Official Correspondence of Thomas Oliver Larkin, Merchant and United States Consul in California.* Edited by George P. Hammond. Volumes I-X (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. Vol. I: 1822-1842, xxxi + 352 pp., 1951. Vol. II: 1843-1844, xxii + 362 pp., 1952. Vol. III: 1845, xxvi + 372 pp., 1952. Vol. IV: 1845-1846, xxxi + 411 pp., 1953. Vol. V: 1846, xxviii + 333 pp., 1955. Vol. VI: 1847, xxx + 361 pp., 1959. Vol. VII: 1847-1848, xxviii + 369 pp., 1960. Vol. VIII: 1848-1851, xxix + 420 pp., 1962. Vol. IX: 1851-1853, xxi + 320 pp., 1963. Vol. X: 1854-1858, xxxv + 353 pp., 1964. $10.00 each.)

must for at least ten generations of college students taking coursework in Latin American history. A standard Hammond biography is *Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico* (1927), whereas a good example of Hammond-Rey editorial product is *Narratives of Coronado Expedition, 1540-42* (1940). This, then, is the man who, presiding over the vast holdings of the Bancroft Library, assayed the Thomas O. Larkin manuscript collection. Hammond concluded the Larkin materials were "among the valued treasures" of the Library, and accordingly undertook their editing. Thanks to the Friends of the Bancroft Library the now edited papers have appeared in magnificently printed form as *The Larkin Papers.*

Inescapably the name Thomas O. Larkin has been identified with California's transition era from Mexican to American rule. Therefore, those who read California history have acquired an acquaintanceship with the American consul which now, happily, will become greatly enriched by a reading of *The Larkin Papers.* In many respects Larkin's career is not unlike that of several other American and European aliens who ventured into somnolent Mexican Alta California to seek wealth by engaging mainly in trade and ranching. Larkin was born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1802; became an orphan at the age of 15; received the minimum of formal schooling; and at thirty reached Alta California from Boston by ship. He early selected Monterey, the provincial capital, as his place of abode; and with five hundred borrowed dollars started business as a general trader and emerged eventually as one of California's first wealthy Americans. In 1844 Larkin received an appointment as the first (and only) United States Consul for California, and it was in this official capacity that he tended to become closely involved in the fast-paced events that included the arrival of American and European immigrants into California, Frémont's escapades, and, finally, the American occupation of California.

The first major notice taken of the consul's private papers was by the man who acquired possession of them from the Larkin family—Hubert Howe Bancroft. When in 1884 Bancroft published the first volume of his seven-volume *History of California* he stated in his work that he regarded Larkin's papers as being of paramount importance and that for the crucial years 1845-1846 "This collection is beyond all comparison the best source of information"; in fact, added this west coast historian, it would not be possible to write correctly about the events of those years without first consulting these papers. In a sense Bancroft demonstrated the usefulness of the Larkin papers, not only as a basis for numerous specific references to the American consul but as documentation for his discussion of California history during the exciting mid-century decades.

Much later, in 1939, these same papers were the basis for a full-scale Larkin biography by Reuben L. Underhill entitled *From Cow Hides to Golden Fleece* . . . (Stanford University Press). This biography (even a revised edition in 1946) leaves much to be desired, but it nevertheless points up not only the significance of the Larkin career but as well the wide range and depth of the papers under review. Both before and after the appearance of the Underhill biography, the Larkin manuscripts have served the scholarly interests of a formidable array of historians of the American West. All this has been possible for the reason that the collector and historian Bancroft made the Larkin papers an integral part of the Bancroft Library which since 1905 has been in the possession of the University of California, Berkeley. In reflecting upon this body of raw historical material Hammond states that to this day the Larkin papers still retain top bureau status. As manuscript collections go—some being measured either by the ton and by the number of levels they occupy in library stacks—the Larkin Papers in the Bancroft Library are modest in bulk. They consist of eleven large bound volumes (two of the volumes are bound as one) which in turn comprise documents exceeding 4,000 in number.

Available though these documents are to all qualified students of history, there is a limit to which these fragile papers can hold up under repeated handling. The decision to transcribe, edit, and publish the bulk of them as a contribution of the University of California to the state's first centennial was, therefore, one befitting the greatness of both this commonwealth and its leading institution of higher learning. And as it turned out, this enterprise has added lustre not only to the state, but to the Bancroft Library, the University of California Press, and not least, the editor.

The overall editorial policies were set forth in an Introduction appearing in Volume I, and these are very simple. Insofar as it was possible to do so, the papers were to be presented as originally quilled or penned, and they were to be arranged in chronological order. Annotation was to be highly restricted. Volume I (1951) covers the years 1822-1842, but for all intents and purposes the starting date of this volume is January 13, 1839. The papers reproduced in this initial tome serve well to illustrate the variety and richness of the collection as a whole. There are letters to and from Larkin; there are regulations pertaining to whaling crews; an estimate on rebuilding the Monterey custom-house; a statement on food provided for imprisoned foreigners; and significantly, invoices and statements pertaining to cow hides, lumber, and assorted goods traded at Larkin's place of business in Monterey. Most of the correspondence pertains to business, to trade, but interspersed with the sober allusions to hides, prices, credits, and government regulations are snatches that make Old California come to life. ". . . I hope to God," wrote John Coffin Jones to Larkin in 1842, that the new General and his "ragamuffin" troops will be "swallowed up by the flood or an earth quacke." Jones frankly disliked the Mexican officialdom and referred to them as felons, and wretches trying to make a "Botany Bay" of their country. The Larkin correspondence and records keep pace with the gradually accelerating tempo of life during the mid-1840s. The papers for 1843-1844 fill Volume II (1952); those from January-September, 1845, comprise Volume III (1952); and those from September 1845 through 1846 fill Volumes IV (1953) and V (1955); Volume VI (1959) covers the year 1847, and a hefty Volume VII (1960) involves the important years 1847-1848; Volume VIII (1962) continues with 1848 and goes to May 1851; Volume IX (1963), the balance of 1851 to the end of 1853; and the concluding Volume X (1964), 1854 to a death notice, October, 1858.

Each of these carefully prepared volumes offers something special or distinctive for its users. If as indicated the first one bears heavily on trade, then the second appears to reflect the growing international complications regarding California—documents pertaining to Larkin's appointment as consul May 1, 1843, and as well as the consul's first official correspondence with the United States Government. Too, this volume contains numerous unofficial letters from, as well as to, Larkin. Among letters written as consul to the secretary of state, Larkin interestingly enough refers to John A. Sutter and forwards a copy of a March 28, 1844, letter received from Sutter which alludes to Lieutenant

John C. Frémont. This letter states that Frémont had "arrived here [at New Helvetia] in distress. . . . The visit of this Exploring expedition," writes Larkin, "I attribute entirely to accident, for a Month previous to their arrival the Company had subsisted entirely on horse and Mule flesh, the Starvation, and fatigue, they had endured, rendered them truly deplorable objects."

Those especially interested in the rapid succession of events, local and international, that led to American occupation and acquisition of California will find best hunting in Volumes III-V. Governor Manuel Micheltorena's troubles and expulsion and replacement by Pío Pico in 1845 are reflected in the correspondence of that year as is also the arrival of mounting numbers of Yankee overlanders. Moreover, by 1845, Consul Larkin's prestige had reached a point where an ever-increasing number of his correspondents sought either advice or opinions on the degree of general economic and political welfare of California or favors. During July, 1845, Larkin even wrote a letter for publication in the *Journal of Commerce* in which he ventured to say that "Should the supreme Government allow the Californias to rule there own Country they would have peace and prosperity." He added, moreover, that "The time will come, must come, when this Country is peopled by another race." Even though Larkin as consul was in no position to espouse American intervention, he nevertheless, in 1845-1846, expressed himself in favor of separation of California from its parent government. And when as happened President Polk appointed Larkin confidential agent in California (a position he held concurrently with that of being consul), he received from, and was presumably obligated to pursue the official American course. In the words of Secretary of State James Buchanan to Larkin, October 17, 1845, this course would be: "In the contest between Mexico and California we can take no part, unless the former should commence hostilities against the United States; but should California assert and maintain her independence, we shall render her all the kind offices in our power as a Sister Republic." Only in the event that under the above-mentioned circumstances the Californians should "desire to unite their destiny with ours" would they then be "received as brethren."

That the Californians were about to be so received is revealed in Volume V, beginning in late May, 1846. As one would expect, the papers for this year contain letters to and from many of those who were associated in one way or another with the Bear Flag Revolt and the American conquest: Buchanan; Frémont and his wife Jesse; Lieutenant Archibald H. Gillespie, the man who delivered messages to Frémont in Southern Oregon; William B. Ide, leader of the Revolt; Abel Stearns, in some ways Larkin's counterpart in Southern California; also Commodores John D. Sloat and Robert F. Stockton; and again Larkin's old correspondents John A. Sutter at New Helvetia and Vice-Consul William A. Leidesdorff at Yerba Buena. Here, then, is a rich array of materials; but those looking for evidence of a Larkin conspiracy to overthrow the California government will search in vain. On this point the editor is emphatic: "The Bear Flag Revolt occurred without the knowledge of Larkin or other leading Americans in California. . . . To him and his program, the Bear Flag Revolt was catastrophe."

By 1847 (the papers for which are contained in Volume VI) Larkin had become so involved in the performance of government services that his own mercantile business had nearly come to a halt. Added to his official appointments was that of United States navy agent; also an appointment as a member of a legislative council relative to the establishment of a temporary government for California. By mid-January, 1847, the clash of arms had come to an end; but entirely removed from Larkin's notice and envolvement, was the so-called Stockton-Kearny-Frémont feud. Too, Larkin's many official duties called for an increasing number of reports to Buchanan which, thanks either to copies among the Larkin papers or to copies of originals obtained from the National Archives, are included in this published work.

For those mainly interested in the California Gold Rush period, Volumes VII and VIII have special interest and value. Covering as they do the period from October 1847 to September 1848 and from the latter date to May 1851 respectively, the first of the two volumes virtually sets the stage for James W. Marshall's world-stirring discovery on January 24, 1848. For Larkin at Monterey life nevertheless remained on a business-as-usual basis during the winter and spring of 1848. Presumably the first letter received by Larkin telling of the gold discovery was from John Bidwell. The letter was sent from New Helvetia and dated May 15, 1848. In the third paragraph Bidwell wrote: "The gold has been found over an extent of thirty or forty miles, and people are flocking in from all directions to make their fortunes." Bidwell took a rather calm view of the whole matter and added that while many people had arrived expecting to glean a hundred dollars per day, he, Bidwell, would state the facts: "A man who works hard will average about $10 per day."

Larkin appears not to have been swept away by the excitement. On July 20 Larkin sent to Secretary of State Buchanan an official account of what was happening in California. He states that the "full effect of this state of affairs is not yet felt. How it will end I know not. The future consequence or prospect is not pleasant nor moral." The import of the contents of these two volumes is not that it chronicles events during these hectic months but rather that it conveys to the reader a sense of the profound effect that the Gold Rush had upon California society as a whole, and in particular San Francisco. Moreover, Editor Hammond reminds one of the obvious, but also important fact that Volume VIII marks an important change in Larkin's life; there is, in 1848, no further need for either United States consul or a secret agent in California and that Larkin, relieved of these duties, re-directs his energies into other channels—largely real estate. "There was no let-up in the vast, unending search for wealth," writes Hammond in his introduction to Volume IX, and during 1851-1853, the years covered by this volume, Larkin participated in the mad scramble for more riches. He became a director of the projected Benicia-Marysville Railroad, was involved with town site developments (including Benicia), acquired and managed numerous ranches, and advanced his business interests in New York, Boston, and elsewhere. Not everything that Larkin did turned to gold. He lost heavily in the post-Gold Rush deflation and again in California's 1855 financial panic. "Nonetheless," writes Hammond, "he was a very wealthy man, busy with the development of his properties until the very end."

It is clear in the final volume, X, 1854-1858, that Larkin closed his busy life by giving considerable thought and time to family affairs. Larkin's increased correspondence with his children fattened his letterbooks so much so that it became necessary, "in order to keep the closing volumes within reasonable size," for Hammond to be highly selective about what should appear in Volumes IX and X. Those industrious scholars who may wonder about the omissions will, of course, find the original collection available for their use in the Bancroft Library.

It must be reiterated that *The Larkin Papers* are, with relatively few exceptions, published versions of documents in the Bancroft Library. There are numerous Larkin manuscripts housed in the Henry E. Huntington Library, the archives of the California Historical Society, and, doubtless, scattered letters in all parts of the world. Recently, for example, there was published *First and Last Consul, Thomas Oliver Larkin and the Americanization of California: A Selection of Letters*, edited by John A. Hawgood (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1962. xxxviii + 123 pp. $5.00). Additional Larkin items will, hopefully, appear in the future. The fact that *The Larkin Papers* do not include, except as indicated, pertinent papers extant outside the Bancroft Library, should in no way dull the lustre of Hammond's work. It is clear that with the now completed publication of the ten volumes (an index to come) George P. Hammond has attained the goal initially set: "An historical and literary monument to California's pioneers." In a physical as well as a literary sense the *Larkin Papers* is also a monument for which the sponsors and the University of California Press deserve credit. The volumes are most handsomely created by Bruce Rogers, Indiana's distinguished book designer, and printed (best told in the words of the press) on Lineweave Town Crier Text in English monotype centaur. It is, moreover, a usable monument, and one for which historians will be forever grateful.

A Study of Graduate Research in California History in California Colleges and Universities

(continued)

By Pamela A. Bleich

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

16.0 Master's Theses.

16.1 Adams, Dorothy. *Life in the Mining Camps of the Yuba River Valley.* 1931.
A type study of one mining region based on diaries, 1848-1853, covering: mining methods, law, social life, camp organization, entertainment, transportation and communication, description of town buildings, etc. Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; secondary.

16.2 Ahlf, Mildred. *Neve's Instruction of 1782 and the First Spanish Governors of California.* 1911.
A translation of Neve's instructions left for Fages regarding the conditions in California referring to the Indians, missions, agriculture, etc. Sources: documents–government (provincial); manuscripts.

16.3 Albertson, Dean. *Jacob P. Leese, California.* 1947.
A biography of Leese, 1801 to 1892, relating his role as American merchant during the Mexican Period in Yerba Buena, his role in the Bear Flag Revolt, etc. Sources: documents–government (federal); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.4 Albright, George. *Plans and Official Explorations for Pacific Railroads.* 1916.
The accomplishments of various expeditions, 1853 to 1855, of which Whipples' exploration along the 35th parallel, Parke's expedition, and the Williamson and Abbott expedition among others are pertinent to California history. Sources: documents–government (federal); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.5 Akers, Toma. *Mexican Ranchos in the Vicinity of Mission San Jose.* 1931.
From 1843 to 1891, the story of the diminishing possession of ranchos, El

Poterero de Los Cerritos of Agustín Alviso and Tomás Pacheco, and El Arroyo de la Alameda of José de Jesús Vallejo. Sources: documents–government (federal, state, county); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary.

16.6 Anderson, George. *The Hoopa Valley Indian Reservation in Northwestern California: a Study of Its Origins.* 1956.
How and why the reservation became located in Hoopa Valley from the time of Indian conflict with American settlers and extension of federal control over Indian affairs in California in 1850, to President Grant's executive order of 1876. Sources: documents–government (federal); newspapers; secondary; other.

16.7 Andrew, Bunyan. *Charles Crocker.* 1941.
A biography of Crocker, stressing his contributions to the economic development of the West, particularly California. Sources: documents–government (federal, state, county); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary.

16.8 Ansberry, Merle. *Josiah Gregg, Western Pioneer.* 1931.
Gregg's place in Western history as trader, soldier, journalist, explorer, and discoverer of the land route to Humboldt Bay, with particular reference to his California experiences. Sources: manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

16.9 Archambault, John. *Evolution of the Crocker First National Bank of San Francisco.* 1950.
The history of a bank from 1870 to 1950, its development, organization, and operating policies. Sources: documents–government (county), non-public (business); newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

16.10 Archibald, Colin. *A Historical Survey of the California Cotton Industry.* 1950.
A history of the cultivation, irrigation, labor, ginning, marketing, manufacturing, and establishment of a commercial industry. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

16.11 Ashton, George. *Upton Sinclair.* 1951.
Sinclair the socialist, writer, politician, state Democratic Party leader, originator of EPIC, and gubernatorial candidate in 1934. Sources: newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.12 Atherton, Lucien. *The Early History of the San Diego Presidial District, 1542-1782.* 1930.
Includes exploration and discovery by the Spanish, founding of the pueblo, establishment of the presidio, founding of the mission San Gabriel Arcángel, transportation and communication from Mexico, Indian uprisings, etc. Sources: manuscripts; secondary.

16.13 Aucutt, Lucile, ed. *Life in California Mining Camps: a Type Study.* 1931.
Correspondence from the mining camps, 1849 to 1870, edited with notes,

introduction, and background. Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; secondary; other.

16.14 Avina, Rose. *Spanish and Mexican Land Grants in California.* 1934.
From 1782 to 1822 covering: Spanish and Mexican land laws; land grants; steps in making grants; granting officials; etc. Sources: documents–government, (federal, state); secondary.

16.15 Baker, [Anna] Mary. *Early Spanish Colonization in California Directed by Rivera y Moncada.* 1909.
Traces the administration of Spanish colonial government by means of the translations of the instructions and accounts made to and by Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada, commander of the presidios of the Californias, 1773-1781. Sources: documents–government (provincial); manuscripts; secondary.

16.16 Baker, Robert. *Why the McNamaras Pleaded Guilty to the Bombing of the Los Angeles Times.* 1949.
An analysis of the *Times* disaster in 1910 and of the arrest, trial, and confession of the McNamara brothers and its resulting economic and political effects. Sources: documents–government (federal), nonpublic (organization); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.17 Ballard, Margaret. *History of Coal Mining in the Mount Diablo Region, 1859-1885.* 1931.
From discovery of the first mine in 1859 to the closing of the mines in 1885, relating the rise and fall of Somersville and Nortonville as a result. Sources: documents–government (federal), nonpublic (business); newspapers; secondary.

16.18 Barieau, Sally. *Migration to California by Way of the Isthmus of Panama, 1848-1855.* 1937.
The Panama route and its relationship to the California migration, mostly a description of travel conditions and experiences. Sources: documents –government (federal); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.19 Barnes, Esther. *The San Carlos, the Mayflower of the Pacific.* 1935.
An account of the San Carlos' expeditions, 1769-1775, as a supply ship for exploratory parties and colonizers, and was the first Spanish ship to sail into San Francisco Bay. Sources: manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

16.20 Bateman, Herman. *History of the Santa Clara County (California) Congressional District.* 1940.
An investigation of the characteristic political activity, men, and trends, in the district, 1849-1938. Sources; documents–government (federal, state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.21 Bates, Lana. *The Historical Geography of California, 1542-1835.* 1928
Survey of geography in California history, discovery, exploration, and occupation. Sources: periodicals; secondary.

16.22 Bates, Lana. *The Historical Geography of California, 1513-1835.* 1931.
Same as 16.21, but enlarged and rearranged. This was the work finally accepted for degree requirements. Sources: manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

16.23 Bauer, Patricia. *History of Lumbering and Tanning in Sonoma County, California since 1812.* 1951.
A study of the growth and development of the lumbering of tan oak trees and the tanneries, 1812-1920. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary; other.

16.24 Bell, Howard. *George C. Pardee and the Oakland Water Supply, 1889-1890.* 1947.
The part Pardee played in obtaining a municipal pure water system for Oakland and an evaluation of the various geographical, political, economic, and social factors involved. Sources: documents–government (city); newspapers; secondary; other.

16.25 Bennett, Bessie. *The Economic Development of Southern California with Special Reference to Transportation, 1870-1885.* 1927.
Contents: geography; development of transportation–steamship, harbor, stage routes, railroads, roadsteads; development of industries–grazing, agriculture, mining; growth of towns in San Gabriel Valley and San Bernardino Valley. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.26 Bepler, Doris. *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials for Western History in California Magazines, 1854-1890, with Introduction on the History and Character of the Magazines.* 1920.
A brief history of the *Pioneer*, *Hutching's California Magazine*, *Hesperian* later the *Pacific Monthly*, *Overland Monthly*, *California*, and *Golden Era.* Includes a descriptive bibliography of some 1,029 articles on the West, primarily California topics, published in the above magazines and some newspapers, and a subject index to the articles. Sources: perodicals; secondary.

16.27 Berringer, Edwin. *Preface to a Calendar of Documents of the Bancroft Library.* 1908.
A card index to the Larkin correspondence arranged by author, each item identified by type of manuscript, date, and contents. On 3 x 5″ cards in three file boxes. Interfiled are other masters theses projects: 16.134, 16.178, and 16.180. It is recommended students use instead the *Thomas O. Larkin Papers for the History of California,* edited by George P. Hammond, and published by the University of California Press.

16.28 Bird, Jackson. *The History of a State Highway Across Central California, 1895-1919.* 1950.

Evolution of the east-west highway now designated as U. S. 50, 1844-1950, covering: Lake Tahoe State Wagon Road, automobile traffic, transcontinental tours, road conditions and improvement, development of tourist facilities, rivalry of Echo Summit and Emigrant Gap for the pass route, etc. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.29 Bjork, David. *The Early History of the Methodist Church in California (1846-1854).* 1920.
An account of the establishment and the expansion of the Methodist Episcopal church activities. Sources: documents–nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

16.30 Blattner, Helen. *The Political Career of William McKendree Gwin.* 1914.
A biography of Gwin which emphasizes his role in the 1849 Constitutional Convention, his political rivalry with David C. Broderick, and his term as United States Senator from California. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.31 Bliss, Wilberforce. *Report on the Hayes Papers in the Bancroft Library with Special Reference to the Attitude of the Native Californians toward Statehood.* 1909.
The papers of Benjamin Hayes consist of manuscripts and clippings, and are listed with a descriptive summary of each volume.

16.32 Bloomquist, Leonard. *California in Transition: a Regional Study of the Changes from Mexican to American Life and Institutions in the San Luis Obispo District, 1830-1850.* 1943.
A study of the three phases of transition: secularization of the missions, development of a ranching society, and change in political institutions from those characteristically Mexican to those American. Sources: documents–government (provincial, federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary.

16.33 Boone, Lalla. *The History of the Santa Clara Valley: the Spanish Period.* 1922.
Contents: geography; Indians and their customs; explorations of the Santa Clara Valley; establishment of the Santa Clara Mission, pueblo San José, San José Mission, San Juan Bautista Mission; description of political, social, economic, and educational activities of the Californians. Sources: documents–government (provincial); manuscripts; secondary; other.

16.34 Boudinot, May. *The Case of the Mercury as Typical of Contraband Trade on the California Coast, 1790-1802.* 1915.
An account of an example of foreign encroachments on Spanish California by the *Mercury* describing the circumstances of capture and investi-

gation of the crew's activities by the Spanish, who suspicioned their motives. Sources: secondary.

16.35 Boyd, Jessie. *Historical Import of the Orange Industry in Southern California.* 1922.
History of the orange industry, 1769-1850, and an analysis of the relationships of the industry to the economic growth and development of the state to 1915. Sources: documents–government (federal, state), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.36 Breatt, Harvard. *Robert Baylor Semple.* 1950.
The life of Semple as pioneer Calfornian, soldier of fortune, editor and publisher, city father at Benicia, president of the 1849 Constitutional Convention, inventor, and land speculator, 1806-1854. Sources: documents–government (state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.37 Breton, George. *The Overland Immigration to California in 1841.* 1926.
A brief survey of American activities in California prior to 1840 and explanation of general causes of expansion westward year after year; includes chapters on the overland companies: Bidwell and Bartleson, Workman and Rowland, and Walker and Emmons. Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; secondary.

16.38 Brinzing, Margaret. *The Early History of the Mendocino Coast.* 1950.
Topics for the period, 1543-1885: geography; Spanish discovery and explorations; land grants; the Russians at Fort Ross; settlement by Americans; establishment of sawmills and lumbering activities. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.39 Brown, Elizabeth. *The Enforcement of Prohibition in San Francisco, California.* 1948.
An investigation of the fight for, the attempt to enforce, and the breakdown of the enforcement of Prohibition in San Francisco. Sources: documents–government (federal, county); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.40 Brown, Pearl. *The History of Early Mining in Amador County.* 1909.
Topics for the period approximately, 1844-1852: early history, life of the miners, mining methods, mining laws and justice, geology, quartz mines. Sources: documents–government (state); newspapers; secondary.

16.41 Burgess, Sherwood. *Early History of the Oakland Water Supply, 1850-1876.* 1948.
Emphasis on the attempts of the Contra Costa Water Company and its founder, Anthony Abot, to secure an adequate water supply for Oakland, and the reaction of the city populace to the plan and the company.

Sources: documents–government (federal, county, city), nonpublic (business); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary; other.

16.42 Burke, Robert. *Cross Filing in California Elections, 1914-1946.* 1947.
An evaluation of cross filing and the offices of governor, lieutenant governor, state board of equalization, assemblyman, senator, etc. Sources: documents–government (state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.43 Butler, James. *Isaac Roop, Pioneer and Political Leader of Northern California.* 1958.
Roop as a pioneer, civic leader, postmaster of Susanville, land speculator, soldier, lawyer, district attorney in the Honey Lake area, 1850-189?. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.44 Bystrom, Shirley. *Los Angeles, 1846-1860.* 1951.
A political and social history of an era of transition. Sources: documents –government (federal, city); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.45 Case, Chester. *The Development of Roads between Oregon and California.* 1955.
The construction of wagon roads across the Klamath Mountains, the routes used, the builders, and the economic development of the area due to the stage and express transportation, 1828-1888. Sources: documents –government (federal); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary.

16.46 Casey, Jack. *The Indians in the Settlement of California (1769-1869).* 1946.
A survey of the economic, social, and political status of the Indians from pre-Spanish times to the early part of the American Period. Sources: documents–government (provincial, federal, state); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

16.47 Chaffee, Everett. *Jedediah Smith in California.* 1939.
An account of travels and activities during the Mexican Period, 1826-1830. Sources: documents–government (provincial); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

16.48 Chambers, Clarke. *A History of the Associated Farmers of California, Incorporated, 1934-1939.* 1947.
The historical significance of the association in California agriculture. Sources: documents–government (federal, state), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

16.49 Childers, Laurence. *Education in California under Spain and Mexico, and under American Rule to 1851.* 1930.
Education in California prior to statehood covering: missions system and schools, trade instruction of mission schools, secular schools, decline of mission schools under the Mexican government and emphasis on secular

schools, outstanding teachers, and the early establishment of American schools. Sources: documents–government (provincial, federal, state); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

16.50 Chorley, Lloyd. *Thomas Oliver Larkin, Early California Business Man.* 1930.
Emphasis was placed on Larkin's activities as merchant, United States consul, miner, San Francisco land promoter, 1802-1858. Sources: manuscripts; secondary.

16.51 Cioffi, Ralph. *Mark Hopkins, Inside Man of the Big Four.* 1950.
Biography of Hopkins with emphasis on his California activities, 1849-1878, as argonaut, hardware merchant and partner of Collis Huntington, and Hopkins' role in the Central Pacific Railroad. Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

16.52 Cleaveland, Alice. *The North Bay Shore during the Spanish and Mexican Regimes.* 1932.
Contents: geography; Indians; Spanish exploration; founding of missions San Rafael Arcángel and San Francisco Solano; secularization of the missions; colonization; frontier settlement problems; Bear Flag Revolt. Sources: documents–government (provincial, federal); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary; other.

16.53 Cody, Cora. *John Bidwell: His Early Career in California.* 1927.
Bidwell from 1819 to 1868 as California pioneer, explorer, gold miner, politician, Bear Flag Revolter, member of the 1849 Constitutional Convention, and Congressman. Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.54 Collyer, Gilbert. *Early History of El Dorado County.* 1933.
Contents: geography; Indians; Spanish exploration; discovery of gold; early American settlement; mining camps; mining methods; establishment of county government; social and cultural activities. Sources: documents–government (federal, state), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.55 Connor, Forrest. *The Opposition to Hydraulic Mining in California.* 1950.
Study of the farmers' opposition to hydraulic mining and the placing of this type of mining under federal supervision, 1852-1940. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.56 Correia, Delia. *Lasuén in California.* 1935.
The role of Lasuén as builder of missions, missionary, and father president of the Alta California missions, 1767-1803. Sources: documents–government (provincial), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

16.57 Cruden, Davina. *Early Fur Trade in California.* 1922.
Covers trade on the Northwest coast and the coast of California from 1778, and trading activities of Jedediah Smith and the Hudson Bay Company, 1828-1846. Sources: manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

16.58 Crystal, Helen. *The Beginnings of Vacaville.* 1933.
The history of a Solano County community: geography; Indians; Mexican land grants—Vaca, Peña, and Wolfskill; first American settlers in Pleasants Valley; beginnings of Vacaville; etc. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, county); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

16.59 Cullinan, Nicholas. *The History of Party Politics in California, 1848-1854.* 1928.
A history with emphasis on the 1849 Constitutional Convention, the campaigns of 1850 and 1851, the rivalry between Gwin and Broderick, the Democratic Party strife, and the first California Presidential election. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary.

16.60 Cunningham, Charles. *An Investigation of the Available Sources for the Spanish Expeditions in California, 1709-1800.* 1910.
A year by year record beginning about 1768 covering expeditions by: Portolá, Fages, Pérez, Anza, Rivera, Hezeta and Bodega, Vancouver, Garcés, Ayala, Moraga, Arteaga and Bodega, Martínez and Haro, Malaspina, and Caamaño. Sources: documents—government (provincial); manuscripts; secondary.

16.61 Cutter, Donald. *Moraga of the Military: his California Services, 1784-1810.* 1947.
An account of Moraga's service as mission guard, magistrate to San José pueblo, explorer of San Joaquin and Sacramento Valleys, founder of the Villa de Branciforte, Indian fighter, etc. Sources: documents—government (provincial), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; secondary.

16.62 Dare, Richard. *The Economic and Social Adjustment of the San Francisco Chinese for the Past Fifty Years.* 1959.
An investigation of assimilation. Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

16.63 Dart, Marguerite. *The History of the Lompoc Valley, California.* 1954.
An account of Lompoc Valley, Santa Barbara County, 1542-1942: geography; Indians; mission La Purísima Concepción; secularization of mission lands; Lompoc colony; break-up of ranchos; beginnings of the seed industry and diatomaceous mining. Sources: documents—government (federal), nonpublic (business, organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

16.64 Davis, James. *Unusual or Extra-Constitutional Power Exercised by the United States in California, 1848-1850.* 1902.
An analysis of the administration of California civil affairs by military governors who had not been appointed or authorized by President Polk, February 2, 1848 to 1850. Sources: documents–government (federal, state, city); secondary.

16.65 Davis, Sylvia. *The Establishment of the California-to-China Airline.* 1944.
A history of the evolution and significance of the line, 1931-1944. Sources: documents–government (federal), nonpublic (business); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.66 De Ford, Paul. *In Defense of Empire: the Southern Pacific versus the Texas and Pacific.* 1948.
A study of the political efforts, acquisition of land grants, and construction of a transcontinental railroad to protect their monopoly of California trade from the Texas and Pacific Railway Company. Sources: documents –government (federal, state), nonpublic (business, organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.67 De Nier, Flora. *Robert Livermore and the Development of the Livermore Valley to 1860.* 1928.
A study of the Indians, early Spanish exploratory expeditions, first American settlers, land grants and ranchos, cattle raising, gold mining, and wheat raising, 1826-1860. Sources: documents–government (provincial, federal, county); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

16.68 Dickson, Mildred. *Third Party Technique: the Progressive Party in California, 1912-1916.* 1937.
A study of the political conditions which brought about the establishment of the Progressive Party and the techniques it employed in its operation in California politics. Sources: documents–government (state), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.69 Dill, Eva. *The Early Exploration of the San Francisco Bay Region.* 1930.
Brief sketches with emphasis on Portolá, Fages, Rivera, Palóu, Ayala, and Hezeta, and occupation around the bay, 1542-1775. Sources: manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

16.70 Doran, Beverly. *S. Clinton Hastings.* 1952.
A biography of Serranus Clinton Hastings, 1814-1892, the first Chief Justice of the California Supreme Court, as jurist, attorney general, businessman, land speculator, and founder of Hastings' College of Law, University of California. Sources: documents–government (federal, state, city); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

16.71 Dornberger, Suzette. *The Struggle for Hetch-Hetchy, 1900-1913.* 1935.
A study of San Francisco's attempts to obtain the Hetch-Hetchy Valley from the public domain as a unit in the municipal water supply system, and the fight with conservationists. Sources: documents–government (federal, city); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.72 Dornin, May. *The Emigrant Trails into California.* 1922.
The location and description of trails and passes, 1826-1852. (Pathfinders: Jedediah Smith, Peter Skene Ogden, Alexander McLeod, Michael La Framboise, James O. Pattie, Ewing Young, William Wolfskill, Joseph Walker, John C. Frémont; Overland parties: Elisha Stevens, Jackson and Young, Bartleson and Bidwell; Trails: Southern, Donner Pass, Northern cut off, Lassen's Road, Nobel's Road; Passes: Carson, Mono, Donner, Applegate, Beckworth.) Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.73 Downing, Margaret. *Juan Bautista Alvarado, Politician.* 1938.
A biography from 1809 with emphasis on Alvarado's political career beginning with the term of governor in 1836 to his death in 1882. Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.74 Drewes, Rudolph. *Pedro Fages, California Pioneer.* 1927.
Fages as Spanish explorer, governor, and Indian fighter. Sources: documents–government (provincial); manuscripts; secondary.

16.75 Drummond, Herbert. *Squatter Activity in San Francisco, 1847-1854.* 1952.
A study of the squatter activity and the insecurity of land titles from its beginnings through its combative stages, to the organized reaction of property holders against squatterism in 1854. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary.

16.76 Dunlap, Florence. *Samuel Brannan.* 1928.
Brannan's life from 1819 to 1884, with emphasis on his forty-three years in California as businessman, vigilance committeeman, and civic leader. Sources: documents–government (federal, state), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.77 Dyer, Ruth. *The Indians' Land Title in California: a Case in Federal Equity, 1851-1942.* 1945.
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Includes river transportation, stage coaching, packing and freighting,

wagon roads, ferries and bridges, and railroads. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, county); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary.

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Sentiment as expressed by the newspapers and in the election returns (national and state), and in the activities of the political parties, of the military, and of the pro-Southerners for a Pacific Republic. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); newspapers; secondary.

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A study of the reasons for German migration and of the establishment of Catholic, Jewish, Methodist, and Lutheran churches. Sources: documents—nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

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Investigation of the company's economic and political interests in California. Sources: manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

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Surveys various routes, expeditions, wagon parties, and effects of immigration on the Southwest, 1849-1861. Sources: documents—government (federal); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary.

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An account of the origins, the party program, the control by the Southern Pacific Railroad of Republican politics, the campaign of Hiram Johnson, and the legislative reform of 1911. Sources: documents–government (state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

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Contents: geography; settlement and exploration by the Spanish and Russians; Indians; creation of a buffer zone during the Spanish and Mexican periods; American settlement; squatter wars; etc. Sources: documents –government (provincial, federal, state, county), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

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A history of old age security laws, pension pressure groups, George McLain the professional promoter, and various plans (Townsend Plan, Ham and Eggs, and the California Institute of Social Welfare). Sources: documents–government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.91 Fletcher, John. *An Account of the Work of Relief Organized in Berkeley in April and May, 1906.* 1909.
A record of the organization of committees to supply food, housing, clothing, finances, and to serve in hospitals and on sanitation crews in San Francisco after the earthquake. Sources: documents–nonpublic (organizations).

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16.93 Free, Herbert. *California Apricot Growers Union.* 1941.
An account of the factors in the organizing of the union, its policies, and the strike of 1939. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); newspapers; secondary.

16.94 Freeman, John. *The Historical Development of Cabeza de Santa Rosa.* 1948.
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ment of the American Period to 1947. Sources: documents–government (provincial, county), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

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Inquiry into the murder case of Tom Mooney and the political results of the conviction and imprisonment, a sustaining campaign issue for twenty-two years, 1916-1938. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

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Traces the methods used to attract subscribers. Sources: newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.97 Georgas, Demitra. *Greek Settlement of the San Francisco Bay Area.* 1951.
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This work is a part of the state bar history project of 1948 and covers the movement's evolution and organization of 1927. Sources: documents–government (state), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary; other.

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An evaluation of the extent and the effect of secessionist and Confederate activity; includes material on Civil War issues, mythical Johnson conspiracy, privateering plans on California commerce, Chapman affair, etc. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.100 Goldbeck, Herman. *The Political Career of James Rolph, Jr.: a Preliminary Study.* 1936.
An account from first position as mayor of San Francisco to state governor, 1911-1934. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

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Investigation of the economic conditions responsible for party platforms, and a comparison of the legislative accomplishments of the party representatives with their pre-election promises. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

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Social, religious, and commercial contributions made to the development

of the state in: Sacramento, northern and central mines, Stockton and the southern mines, Southern California, and San Francisco, 1849-1866. Sources: documents–government (county), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

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16.104 omitted by author.

16.105 Guilford, Adrian. *Brother Justen and the Foundation of the San Francisco District of the Brothers of the Christian Schools.* 1947.
A biography of Brother Justen (Stephen McHahon) and the establishment of the Catholic school system in San Francisco, 1850-1880. Sources: documents–government (state), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary; other.

16.106 Haase, Ynez. *The Russian American Company in California.* 1952.
Survey of the motives for settlement at Fort Ross, the leaders, and the attempts at agricultural and livestock trade between Fort Ross, Alaska, and California. Sources: documents–government (federal); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary; other.

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A discussion of the causes for emigration to the United States, early efforts to "Germanize" California and set up a new German state, efforts to stimulate German migration to California, 1849-1850. Sources: documents–government (federal); secondary.

16.108 Hannah, Shirley. *The Early Development of the Salinas Valley.* 1936.
1769-1823 covering: geography; Indians; discovery; exploration and settlement by the Spanish; founding of the missions; social, economic, and political conditions of the period. Sources: manuscripts; periodicals; secondary; other.

16.109 Hanson, George. *The Early History of Yuba River Valley.* 1925.
A survey from 1808 to 1870 of: geography; Indians; Spanish exploration; early overland emigrant trails; American settlements; gold rush and establishment of mining camps at Marysville, Nevada City, and Downieville; social, political, economic, agricultural developments; growth of cities. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

NEW BOOKS

Westward Vision: The Story of the Oregon Trail. By David Lavender. (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1963. 424 pp. $6.95.) Reviewed by Walter Rundell, Jr.

As the main title of this book suggests, the author sets his history of the Oregon Trail in broad perspective. Rather than restricting himself to the westward impulse, as exemplified by traffic on the Oregon Trail, Lavender takes as his grand theme the search for the Northwest Passage. By devoting the first quarter of the book to background material—ranging from the infidel Turks to Lewis and Clark—the author amply prepares the reader for the narrative of the Oregon Trail, itself.

In his desire to establish connections between the westward movement along the Oregon Trail and the initial stirring of man's interest in the westward passage to the East—in short, in his effort to universalize (if not glamorize) his subject, Lavender falls prey to a historical fallacy. He implies that Columbus' motivation for sailing west was that the heathen Turks had blocked the caravan routes to the Orient. This notion was discredited by Professor Albert H. Lybyer in "The Influence of the Rise of the Ottoman Turks upon the Routes of Oriental Trade," published in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1914.

Lavender's obvious aim in this volume is to present a popular history of a dramatic, exciting episode in our national development. He is largely successful. The writing is crisp and vivid. The author displays a fine understanding of the motivations and emotional responses of those engaged in the celebrated trek. With these unquestionable merits, it is unfortunate that the book is not always on equally strong ground historically. Authors of popularized history can perform great services, but they should assume responsibility for keeping abreast of current historical findings, as well as for presenting their material in an engaging manner.

The most effective portions of the book are those that deal directly with the mountain men and missionaries moving along the Oregon Trail. Lavender adroitly discusses the details of the fur trade and the activities of such practitioners as Manuel Lisa, John Jacob Astor, Jim Bridger, Thomas Fitzpatrick, William Ashley, and Jedediah Smith. Little of this information is based on original research, but the author has depended for the most part on reliable secondary sources.

As with the mountain men, the data on the missionaries—Jason Lee, Marcus and Narcissa Whitman, Henry and Eliza Spalding (indexed as Spaulding), *et al.* —are incorporated in a vigorous narrative. The author is particularly skillful in handling the psychological and emotional reactions of the missionaries. As they traveled westward, their smouldering resentments, aggravated by constant, intimate contact, often erupted into searing flame. The very fact that Henry Spalding was an unsuccessful suitor of Narcissa Whitman would charge the atmosphere as the two couples shared the same tent each night while traveling. As Lavender philosophizes: "And as long as these four were fated to be the precursors of civilization in the Northwest, it seems fitting enough that they should take a few of civilization's grubbier complications along the trail with them" (p. 286).

Irrespective of the aims of the travelers—whether they were seeking fortune in furs, carrying the gospel to the savages of the wilderness, or merely promoting American settlement in the West, they experienced certain mutual trials. All were subject to debilitating diarrhea, Indian depredations, violent thunderstorms, and maddening insects. These elements constituted common themes that established a basic pattern in overland migration. Lavender underscores these unifying themes in the volume and demonstrates how successive waves of immigrants to the Oregon country made their particular contributions to its settlement.

WALTER RUNDELL, JR., is the Assistant Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association and a member of the Council of the Western History Association. The Louisiana State University Press has recently published his *Black-Market Money: The Collapse of U. S. Military Currency Control in World War II.*

The United States versus Porfirio Díaz. By Daniel Cosío Villegas. Translated by Nettie Lee Benson. (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1963. 259 pp. $5.00.) Reviewed by Michael Mathes.

In translating *The United States versus Porfirio Díaz* Miss Nettie Lee Benson, archivist of the Latin American Collection of the University of Texas, has enabled the English language reader to avail himself of a well written and well researched monograph by one of Mexico's leading historians. Dr. Daniel Cosío Villegas has long been recognized as an authority on the era of Porfirio Díaz, and this short but concise volume is certainly reflective of that recognition.

The United States versus Porfirio Díaz is a study of the problems faced by Mexico in achieving diplomatic recognition by the United States in 1876. No simple task following the years of civil unrest in Mexico prior to that year, the intricacies of diplomacy employed by both parties presents an interesting insight into United States-Mexican relations.

The initial poverty of the Díaz administration faced with a pending indemnity payment to the United States begins this struggle for recognition. Desirous of achieving recognition through international stability, all efforts to meet this payment were made in the hopes that the United States would reciprocate. Such was not to be the case, however, for the United States required far more than one debt payment as proof of the stability and good faith of the new government in Mexico.

Despite the promptness of payment and Díaz' subsequent constitutional election to the Presidency, as well as recognition by major European nations, the United States remained reluctant to follow. Border raids, insecurity of property, cattle rustling, and smuggling were the order of the day along the Rio Grande, and the United States was adamant in holding Mexico responsible. Peace along the United States-Mexican border was the condition *sine qua non* for Díaz recognition.

As the author so skillfully points out, the demanding morality of the United States during the period was not beyond reproach. The Grant Administration had been riddled with fraud and corruption, and electoral manipulations bringing Rutherford B. Hayes to the Presidency despite the majority popular vote favoring Samuel Tilden did not speak well for the position of moral superiority assumed by the United States.

Continuous conferences between United States Minister John W. Foster and Mexican Foreign Minister Ignacio Vallarta notwithstanding, the United States continued demands for border control. Mexico contended that as adequate a military force as possible was stationed along the Rio Grande, but the United States held otherwise; and on June 1, 1877, General O. C. Ord issued an order permitting United States troops to enter Mexico in pursuit of raiders.

This violation of territorial sovereignty tended to crystalize the position of both sides. Mexico insisted upon recognition prior to settlement of the border question, and the United States insisted upon the reverse. Lengthy debates and reports continued over the months, with extremes running from the military invasion of northern Mexico as advocated by General Phillip Sheridan to the immediate recognition of Mexico proposed by General John B. Frisbie.

Because of these prolonged negotiations and their apparent stalemate, the United States condescendingly recognized Díaz on April 11, 1888; however, many problems remained. Mexico, fearful of invasion and occupation by the United States, continued to refuse the reciprocal passage of troops. The United States, on the other hand, refused to rescind Ord's order of June 1, 1877, and ignored Mexico's claims regarding hostile Indians escaping from United States reservations into Mexico. Thus the situation remained when Díaz finished his first term on November 30, 1880.

Díaz had avoided his greatest fear—the compromise of territorial integrity. Nevertheless, the rapid growth of the border areas and stability in Mexico brought a decline in raids along the Rio Grande, and on July 29, 1882, President Manuel González signed a treaty with the United States for the reciprocal passage of troops across the international boundary. A long and difficult period had transpired, but a new period of United States-Mexican friendship had begun.

Dr. Cosío has done an excellent job of research in preparation of *The United States versus Porfirio Díaz.* He has utilized extensive documentation from archives in Mexico and the United States, as well as printed sources in Spanish and English, and has included an essay on them. Unfortunately, the footnotes are given by chapter without direct reference to the text; however, a useful index somewhat offsets this inconvenience.

This reviewer, having read the Mexican edition *(Estados Unidos contra Porfirio Díaz.* México, Editorial Hermes, 1956. 344 pp.), finds Miss Benson's translation extremely readable. *The United States versus Porfirio Díaz* is certainly a book to be read by all interested in modern Mexican history as well as United States diplomatic history. While the University of Nebraska Press has done a fine job of printing, $5.00 as compared to $2.25 for the Mexican edition is rather expensive, but the United States edition is still a worthwhile addition to any collection of Mexicana.

MICHAEL MATHES is the Special Collections Librarian at the University of New Mexico.

California: Land of Contrast. By David W. Lantis, Rodney Steiner, and Arthur E. Karinen. (Belmont, California, Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1963. 509 pp. $15.00.) Reviewed by William H. Wake.

Courage is needed to write a geographic study of California which ranges from cool rainforests in the northwest, to the nearly tropical southeastern deserts, to arctic mountain summits, and from barren, virtually uninhabited areas stretching across hundreds of miles, to lush agricultural regions, to tightly packed urban concentrations. As the authors, who have that courage, state in "Forethoughts," "California has nearly the physical diversity of the other forty-nine states combined" (p. XV). It also has nearly as much human diversity.

Reactions to *California: Land of Contrast* will be varied. Some readers with intimate knowledge of California will decry omissions of detail. Some will seek penetrating technical analyses. Others will look for the broad generalizations of a systematic approach.

The book is not intended as an analytical monograph for professional geographers, but is designed as "a work that might be read with enjoyment by those who wish to amplify their knowledge of the Golden State" (p.xiii). It can be read with pleasure and benefit by the layman, serve as a travel reference, provide a helpful introduction for the newcomer, or be used as a text for an introductory geography course, as collateral reading in other disciplines, and for professional reference.

The regional and subregional organization may become repetitious, even confusing, to those who rush through the book in a single sitting. Thoughtful reading will produce enriched appreciation of the contrasts, resources, and peoples of California at the same time that comprehension of each part of the state is developed.

"Forethoughts" on the book and chapter introductions are helpful, but there are no complementary chapter summations, and the systematic appendices do not provide a satisfactory conclusion. Grouping of cities and towns by function would provide greater depth of discussion.

Accuracy standards are high and the book is unusually well written except for occasional sudden insertions of technical jargon into colorful description. Illustrations are well chosen and keyed to the text. Maps are comprehensive and inviting to the reader, though Karinen's excellent efforts are marred by publisher's economies and excessive reduction of the commodity and appendix maps. The bibliography presents selected references from scholarly monographs to popular description and romantic fiction.

The book, unfortunately, opens points and fails to close them in several instances. For example, the importance of the date palm's thirty acre-feet per year water requirement is specifically stated on pages 71 and 72 and implied on other pages, but nowhere is the figure given creating a question that could have been avoided by the addition of a few words to the text. This omission spotlights the problems of generalization vs. detail, inclusion vs. length (and cost), and of concise vs. superficial coverage of as large and intricate an area as California—and the need for courage to author such a book.

On balance, the authors have generally solved their problems well by description in depth for the thoughtful reader. *California: Land of Contrast* should be in the library of everyone interested in any aspect of Californiana.

William H. Wake is an assistant professor of geography at the Bakersfield Center of Fresno State College.

The Silver Dons: The History of San Diego. Volume Three of a Series on the Historic Birthplace of California. By Richard F. Pourade. (San Diego, The Union-Tribune Publishing Company, 1963. 286 pp. $9.50.) Reviewed by Lionel U. Ridout.

Richard Pourade's *The Silver Dons,* third in a series on the history of San Diego, will please his readers as did *The Explorers* and *Time of the Bells.* The present volume covers the years 1830 to 1865, from secularization of the missions to the end of the Civil War.

Pourade concentrates on San Diego's setting in Southern California during a period of chaos and sweeping change. As the dust jacket informs us, this "is a story of Indian wars and revolutions, of conquest and defeat, of rugged frontier conditions that rivaled those of the later Wild West, of little known but historic cattle drives, and of boom and bust." Fortunately the author has the ability to cover so wide a panorama with resourcefulness and perspective. He writes very well, smoothly, often excitingly, and, while he must necessarily summarize and synthesize an amazing amount of material, he can, at the same time, see beneath the surface; he is detailed where it counts, and he grasps the essence of significant occurrences.

The author has patiently and carefully combed the important depositories of the nation, and beyond, to find new, revealing, and cogent materials to enhance his story. He has selected diaries, journals, state papers, official and personal correspondence of many types, printed and in manuscript form, to produce a coherent and worthy chronicle. His selections, from many of which he quotes directly, show his wisdom and judgment.

To this reviewer, a native San Diegan, the entire work is a needed contribution to the history of California's birthplace. But many staunch citizens, including members of the chamber of commerce and of the convention and tourist bureau, will be saddened, if not horrified, to learn that San Diego's story from 1830 to 1865 was essentially one of distress–more bust than boom! The great ranchos of the area which promised so much, became, after acquisition, involved in endless litigation, were eventually lost to most of the grantees or their heirs, and split up. For a time massive herds of cattle throughout California exceeded the needs of the state; then cattle drives lessened, tremendous flocks of sheep further depressed the market, and, finally, drought decimated the herds. Elation over San Diego's becoming the possible western terminus of a transcontinental railroad became "sicklied o'er" with the pale cast of politics; wagon routes proved not particularly feasible, and even the "Jackass Mail" turned mulish, balked, and finally collapsed in 1861. A revival of the whaling industry in the '50's and '60's lapsed into a coma in the '70's and at last expired. Immigrants, creators of a frontier atmosphere in San Diego, did little more than discomfit the natives; New Town was a ghost town by 1853, Old Town not much more. Civil War added tragedy to doldrums and depression. And one by one the Silver Dons became tarnished, corroded, dying symbols of a happier pastoral heritage.

The most exciting chapters of this work concern the part San Diego played, almost inadvertently, in the province's acquisition by the United States. Pourade vividly describes the Battle of San Pasqual, most important engagement of the Mexican War in California. His is perhaps the best exposition of this short, sharp, bloody encounter extant. He deals objectively with Indian activities, particularly the Garra Uprising which set San Diego on its ear. He also writes with understanding of early *Californios* and American pioneers whom San Diego claims as its own–Estudillo, Bandini, Machado, Couts, Hayes, Whaley, Fitch, Morse, among others. Altogether this is a kaleidoscopic production of color and verse.

An author would suffer disappointment if a reviewer could not cavil at some minute point. Thus–William M. Gwin deserves a correctly spelled last name, not Gwyn; William Ingraham Kip, first Episcopal Bishop of California, was the Right Reverend, not the Very Reverend. And this reviewer is a crank for footnotes (even though they may be, as is present practice, backnotes).

The Silver Dons is made most appealing by the inclusion of numerous, excellent illustrations and maps, most of which were painstakingly culled from important collections and are photographs of originals. Especially helpful are maps of trailways, the port of San Diego, and the location of local ranchos. It is also valuable to have major characters identified by marginal pictures, giving the reader a more personal relationship with individuals who might otherwise remain just names. The book contains a worthwhile bibliography and an index.

Once again James S. Copley, Chairman of the Corporation, The Copley Press, Inc., is to be congratulated for having commissioned this series of volumes. Richard Pourade deserves high commendation for a discerning work of value to historians, laymen, and libraries.

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The Coming of Justice to California: Three Documents. Translated by Adelaide Smithers and edited by John Galvin. (San Francisco, John Howell–Books, 1963. 80 pp. $7.50.) Reviewed by Theodore Grivas.

John Howell has published another very attractive book. With the color printing artistry of Lawton Kennedy and a binding of equally artistic proportions, *The Coming of Justice to California*, translated by Adelaide Smithers and edited by John Galvin, makes an impressive debut. Although the short title of the book may be slightly misleading, the full title, which is printed in three colors in the title page, *Three Documents*, partially explains the contents.

Three very interesting and quite useful documents pertaining to military and civil law in Spanish and Mexican California appear in good translation in this little volume. This interesting grouping of documents is defended by the editor as "evidences of historic change from military to civil law in this part of the New World." And purely as a very basic representation of the documentation on this subject the reviewer concurs.

The first and probably most significant of the three documents is the *Rules and Regulations for Presidios in the Frontier Line of New Spain, Ordered by King Carlos III in a Decree of September 10, 1772.* This fascinating document practically charts the very mode of life for frontier soldiers. Such provisions as "blind obedience" to military authority and the detailing of harsh punishment for minor offenses are well known and characteristic of the period for military units of all nations. One notes, however, among the various regulations some of which seem particularly unique. The provision of an old-age pension for soldiers falls in certainly in this category, and the protection of the soldiers from excessive or unfair prices for goods purchased from the army suppliers is the ancient forerunner of the Post Exchange. Other interesting references include the arming of Indian scouts, enjoining the granting of peace or truce to the Apaches, and the prohibition of involuntary servitude of Indian captives.

The second document is the eloquent speech of Carlos Antonio Carrillo made before the Mexican Chamber of Deputies in which he makes a strong plea for civil government in California. He "Rings the changes" on the strong influence of the military in civilian affairs. As a solution, at that time (1831), he proposed dividing the state. This ranks as one of the earliest articulations of the rather common sentiment in California's history. Carrillo also proposed a civil judicial system for the provinces with an elaborate hierarchy of courts and officials.

The final document, according to the editor, came as a result of Carrillo's plea. This is the Decree of President Santa Ana of May 22, 1824, establishing circuit tribunals and district courts. This document specifically cites areas to be included, judicial units to be established, officers to be recruited, and even salaries to be paid. The inference made by the inclusion of the document in this series, is that justice finally came to California. This is unfortunate for despite limitations of alcalde courts they served the province well up to American occupation. It seems ironic that the 1834 regulations from Mexico were not implemented in California until the eleventh hour of American military rule, during the last few months of General Bennett Riley's administration.

The value of such a volume is unquestioned, for the translation and publication of significant documents provides ready source materials for the historian and to the lay reader the opportunity to read the "stuff of history." However, in the case of most printed documents, extensive and careful editing is undeniably a necessity. In this volume the editor's comments are briefly drawn in a three-page preface.

Theodore Grivas is an associate professor of history at Sonoma State College.

Verne F. Ray, *Primitive Pragmatists: The Modoc Indians of Northern California.* (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1963. 226 pp. $5.00.) Reviewed by J. Cudd Brown.

Primitive Pragmatists, which was published in 1963 by the University of Washington Press, is one of the series of the American Ethnological Society, of which Viola E. Garfield is editor. It incorporates field data, collected by Ethel Alpenfels, Earl W. Count, Irving Goldman, Alice Marriott, Philleo Nash, and David Rodnick.

This book is a worthwhile successor to Professor Ray's *Cultural Religions in the Plateau of Northwestern America,* and his *Cultural Elements Distribution: XXII Plateau.* Professor Ray, indeed, has succeeded in writing a book which will not only be of special interest to anthropologists but should also appeal to scholars generally and to more typical readers who have some interest in America's indigenous inhabitants. This, at least in the view of one political scientist, is no mean accomplishment for an anthropologist.

One might question the order of the chapters in *Primitive Pragmatists.* For example, the reviewer wonders why, in the light of the totality of this scholarly contribution, Legal Processes, Wealth, and World View constitute, respectively, Chapters two, three, and four, whereas, Marriage, Birth and Infancy, and Childhood are relegated to Chapters ten, eleven, and twelve. But this minor fault fades into insignificance when one realizes just how well Professor Ray's presentation of twenty chapters with three appendices confirms his contention in the Introduction that "Modoc life was not, however, ruled by any democratic patterns, drives, or trends that might make for overall cultural consistency or make available philosophic principles on which abstract judgment might be based."

Professor Ray makes many observations of Modoc society which offer striking parallels to modern American society. Illustrative of these points is his statement on page 6 that "election of a [Modoc] leader depended to an important extent on the potential leader's sound judgment according to cultural standards . . . [and] . . . ability to act with promptness in an emergency . . ." One wonders if the Modoc electors of leaders would not have found themselves right at home in the convention halls of at least one of America's great political parties.

In this mid-twentieth century era of quick riches and conspicuous consumption, moreover, one recognizes a parallel type among Modoc men of wealth who, Professor Ray comments,

> . . . . not infrequently abused the privileges they possessed in consequence of their economic station. They might refuse to arbitrate a feud, although in the wrong. If some object possessed by one economically less fortunate were desired, it might be seized, with little danger of retaliation. Instances of the seizure of poor men's wives are recalled but this probably occurred only if the women were willing.

This reviewer finds only two substantive faults with *Primitive Pragmatists:*

First, the illustrative data, which had the potential of clarifying material presented in the major parts of pertinent chapters, is sometimes rather difficult to follow. Possibly the author presumes that his readers have at their disposal more detailed knowledge on the Modoc Indians than was possessed by this reviewer.

Second, the author of *Primitive Pragmatists* makes few attempts to assess the impact of American civilization on the Modoc, the efforts of the Modocs to adapt themselves to an uneven acculturation, or the efforts at innovation within Modoc society. For example, this reviewer was at a real loss, on reading page 70, to determine how Modoc Henry, who was "hunting rabbits *with his shotgun*," adapted himself to that particular artifact or innovation of the Anglo-American. It may well be that Professor Ray decided, on the basis of ample precedent among anthropologists, to view the Modoc, in so far as possible, within their culture prior to contact with the Anglo-American. But it would seem that he might well have given some attention in passing to anthropological concepts developed by a number of scholars—for example, Homer G. Barnett and Ralph Linton.

There is one additional minor shortcoming presented on page 176, where Professor Ray makes mere mention of the Ghost Dance in this summary statement relative to facial painting: "It should be added that special facial-painting designs were adopted in connection with the Ghost Dance." Actually, Professor Ray's omission relative to his discussion of the Ghost Dance probably constitutes a phase of his omission relative to the development of materials on uneven acculturation mentioned in the foregoing paragraph. In any case, this omission relative to the Ghost Dance is difficult to understand since Cora DuBois has suggested that this cult originated among the Paiute, and Professor Ray deals at considerable length in *Primitive Pragmatists* with the relations between the

Modoc and the Paiute. This omission is even more difficult to understand when one remembers that Dr. Leslie Spier, to whom Professor Ray expresses gratitude for having turned over to him field notes and accounts pertaining to the Modoc Indians of the Klamath Reservation in Oregon, is generally acknowledged as one of the great authorities on the Ghost Dance.

In summary, Professor Ray does a fine, scholarly job with *Primitive Pragmatists* as a whole, but Chapter 16—Houses—was particularly fascinating for a reviewer who has developed over the years an interest in indigenous architecture, not only in North America but also in Sub-Saharan Africa.

J. Cudd Brown is chairman of social science division of Sonoma State College.

First White Women Over the Rockies: Diaries, Letters and Biographical Sketches of the Six Women of the Oregon Mission Who Made the Overland Journey in 1836 and 1838. Edited by Clifford Merrill Drury. (2 vols.; Glendale, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963. 280 pp. + 382 pp. $21.00.) Reviewed by Edwin R. Bingham.

Clifford Drury, the leading authority on Protestantism in the Pacific Northwest, has devoted years to writing the biographies of the Whitmans, the Spaldings, and the Elkanah Walkers and to the editing of the diaries and letters of Henry Spalding and Asa Bowen Smith concerned with the Nez Perce Mission, 1838-1842. In the two volumes under review Drury has gathered the diaries and some of the correspondence of Narcissa Whitman, Eliza Spalding, Mary Gray, Myra Eels, and Mary Walker along with his biographic sketch of Sarah Smith, thus providing extensive firsthand accounts of the first white women to come across the plains and over the mountains to the Old Oregon Country in the late 1830's. The diaries of Mary Gray and Mary Walker are printed here for the first time and the others appear here together and in definitive form also for the first time. Drury brings more than twenty-seven years of research in this field to the sketches, annotations, introductions, and footnotes that set these source materials in proper historical perspective and give the reader increased understanding of the diarists and the missionary experience.

In one sense there is little in this collection that throws new light on the record of the Oregon mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The tensions and wranglings among the missionaries, the miscasting of both Whitmans (particularly Narcissa) as apostles to the Indians, the unimpressive showing of the Protestants in the Pacific Northwest in terms of conversion statistics—these and other general aspects of the Oregon mission are made abundantly clear in Drury's earlier works and in *The Great Command* (1959), the effective popularization of the American Board missionaries in the Pacific Northwest by Nard Jones. However, for the reader who wants a dimension that can only be gained through following the day-by-day experiences of the distaff contingent of the American Board in Oregon these volumes are indispensable.

The longest, most detailed and by far the most interesting part of the collection is the diary of Mary Elkanah Walker covering her ten years' residence at Tshimakain in the upper Columbia River country. Mary Walker writes with spirit, perception, humility, intelligence, and frankness. There is much more introspection and self-analysis than in most pioneer journals, and throughout the thousands of words she wrote she clings stubbornly to her individuality despite her admiration for her husband and her continuous efforts to please that severe and exacting man. When her diary has been read and set aside, it is clear that in spite of high dedication and the best of intentions the grinding necessity to be largely self-sustaining in the wilderness plus the language barrier limited the abilities of the Walkers to minister to the spiritual needs of their charges, the Spokanes. An unmistakable but covert note of relief runs through the entries following the Whitman massacre as it becomes evident that the tragedy will force the closing of all American Board stations in the Pacific Northwest.

Drury's editing is painstaking and thorough, now and then repetitious and stilted, but withal immensely helpful. There are a few minor errors, sometimes typographical, occasionally factual, but in two full volumes freighted with footnotes and relevant editorial comment this would seem comfortably better than par.

Edwin R. Bingham is professor of history at Montana State University.

Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History: A Reinterpretation. By Frederick Merk, with the collaboration of Lois Bannister Merk. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1963. 266 pp. $5.95.) Reviewed by Clifton B. Kroeber.

This book surveys American expansionism, most intensively for 1845-1848 when Manifest Destiny was in flower, but selectively from as early as 1803 to as late as the imperialist aftermaths of the War of 1898. The endeavor is, by research, to make a clean distinction between Manifest Destiny and other expansionist ideologies and motivations; and, in less intensive discussion, to indicate that America's true spirit has always been that of Mission: "lighting the way to political and individual freedoms–to equality of right before the law, equality of economic opportunity, and equality of all races and creeds." In the pure form pictured here, Manifest Destiny had force only in the 1840's, a temporary and a "novel" form of expansionism, mixing "republicanism, democracy, freedom of religion, Anglo-Saxonism, and a number of other ingredients" including regeneration of other peoples. Merk stresses that it "envisaged the elevation of neighboring peoples to equal statehood," thus constituting a "virulent and chauvinistic form of states' rights." He shows how this ideology of a small minority was "harnessed to the cause of continentalism in the 1840's and, strangely enough, to insular expansion a half century later."

His controversial statement cannot be fully covered here, and should be read with Albert K. Weinberg's standard work (1935), Dexter Perkins' several pertinent books, Norman A. Graebner (1955), Ernest R. May (1961), and Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire . . . 1860-1898* (1963). As for his much briefer discussions of Mission, Merk seems in accord with Ralph Henry Gabriel's pioneer analysis (1940); neither constitute deep research proof in this difficult area. Throughout, Merk avoids basing his view of Manifest Destiny on assumptions from the vaguer area of Mission.

Differing with various authorities, Merk asks whether Manifest Destiny really was fueled by "nationalism" during the 1840's, if indeed nationalism was at high pitch then. Here, as with his later use of the word racism, historians must be cautious both of Merk's and of their own use of such terms. Merk also questions whether resentment over Europe's supposed interference in North America played any part in generating Manifest Destiny. He much doubts that the All Mexico movement was nationwide or that it did cross party lines. He suspects that racism played no significant part in the growth of imperialist feeling just before the War of 1898. Finally, his definitions of Manifest Destiny and his statements on Mission give interesting new viewpoints.

This work is notably more than the study of public opinion Merk says it is. Resting in part on his detailed research of forty years, informed by a lively and wary mind, his pages abound in synthesis and inference. Treating both his subjects clearly in admirable prose, he has written an intelligent and an important book.

Clifton B. Kroeber is professor of Latin-American history at Occidental College.

Man-Made Disaster—The Story of St. Francis Dam. By Charles F. Outland. (Glendale, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963. 211 pp. $9.50.) Reviewed by Judge Peirson Hall.

Charles Outland, in *Man-Made Disaster—the Story of St. Francis Dam*, has indeed done a remarkable job in his book describing the need for the dam, the building of it, its destruction, and the investigations which followed the failure of the dam. It has taken a prodigious amount of digging among old records and newspaper reports.

Mr. Outland's introduction to the disaster (and, indeed, probably to the fact that there was even a dam in San Francisquito Canyon) was when he was a senior high school student spending the night in the Santa Paula high school when the dam broke. There he witnessed some who were fortunate enough to have escaped, with barely enough clothes to cover them. The impact on Mr. Outland of this almost unbelievable tragedy, which came so suddenly, must have been a very forceful one. That fact points up one of the greatest attributes of the book, namely, the objectivity with which Mr. Outland approaches and discusses the whole subject which was, and still is, a natural one for "sensational and sinister" comment and conduct.

The book is in four sections. The first section gives the history of the building of the dam, and the necessity for the maintenance of a dependable supply of water to the city of Los Angeles. The Owens Valley-Los Angeles aqueduct passed through San Francisquito Canyon, and it was natural that a reservoir to store water for emergency portions should be sought close to Los Angeles and on the line of the aqueduct and below the point where the San Andreas fault crossed the aqueduct at Elizabeth lake. This section reviews some of the concern expressed in the Santa Clara valley, to which the San Francisquito Creek was tributary, not only prior to the building of the dam, but after it was built, and especially concerning the increased flow of water in the creek from the dam just prior to March 12, 1928, when the dam broke a few minutes before midnight.

The second section of the book deals in four chapters with the breaking of the dam and the events between midnight and the next day. Mr. Outland's treatment of this period is moving and compelling. He conveys the enormity of the almost unbelievable mass of water moving through the sleeping valley and sweeping away or burying everything in its course. The Wiley report to Governor Young stated that the "magnitude and violence of the wave released on the failure of this dam is hard to visualize, even by engineers familiar with floods and flood conditions." Mr. Outland describes the result of the force of approximately one-half million second feet of water (at its greatest volume) forcing its way through the wall of the narrow canyon from 1600 feet above sea level down through the Santa Clara river valley to the sea, a distance of about fifty miles. His report of the efforts of Thornton Edwards and others who risked their lives to warn people in the path of this monstrous and unbelievable cataclysm, when no one really seemed to know what had actually happened, are worthy of rereading several times.

The third section of the book deals with the relief and rehabilitation. It touches upon the animosity toward William Mulholland who is treated throughout the book by Mr. Outland with great respect. In this section, he properly gives great credit to the leadership of Charles C. Teague of Santa Paula in his successful effort to prevent the tragedy from becoming a Roman holiday of litigation. He recites the almost immediate efforts of the city of Los Angeles to make men and machinery available to aid and help in the clean-up, rehabilitation, and to do whatever else was necessary. He emphasizes the formation of the "Committee of 14," seven representing the city of Los Angeles and seven representing the valley, to pass on the claims. He indicates that the formation of this committee was somewhat obscure. In this respect, I perhaps can help as I was chairman of the Water & Power Committee of the City Council of Los Angeles at that time. From the beginning I had disagreed with the city attorney on the question of the liability of the city of Los Angeles. The city attorney insisted that the city could not pay out money until the question of the "legal" liability for failure of the dam had been established. Mayor Cryer called a meeting of a committee of citizens from the Chamber of Commerce, the Clearing House, and others. The meeting was held in the mayor's office a few days after the disaster. The committee was advised by the city attorney that it would be necessary to have a bond issue before any money could be paid, and that a special election would have to be held for that purpose. I disagreed with him, and the next day I expressed my disappointment to my seat mate councilman, Dr. Douglas Foster. Dr. Foster told me that a young lawyer living in his apartment house disagreed with the city attorney, and had told him, Dr. Foster, that there was legal authority which would permit the city to pay "upon reasonable apprehension of liability." I asked Dr. Foster if he would have the young lawyer appear with me before the Water & Power Board the next day, which he did, giving reference to the statutory authority, which I have now forgotten. It was sufficient to convince the city attorney to change his mind. The young lawyer who was then a tenant in Dr. Foster's apartment house was Honorable Wm. C. Mathes, now chief judge of this court, and for the past twenty years my associate on this bench.

The next section of the book deals with the investigations of the failure, made by the numerous committees that were formed. It is in this section of the book that the vast amount of digging and research done by Mr. Outland is revealed. He is impressed, as I was, at the short time spent by the official investigating parties in making their examinations and in filing their reports. The Wiley commission, for instance, appointed by Governor Young, had its first meeting on March 19, and five days later filed its completed report. I was present at the dam with almost every group of engineers who went there, and I was surprised that they did not spend more time at the dam.

Mr. Outland disagrees with the conclusions of most of the engineers' reports that the west wing of the dam went out first. He comes to the conclusion, which I have always had, that the east wing went out first. He supports this by an analysis which, to me, is irrefutable and which lies principally in the fact that the east sections of the dam were lying back of the standing section after the dam was empty. This would indicate to me that the east section went out and portions fell across the face of the dam, the water rushed out there, the standing section moved approximately six inches east, and the west abutments went out and fell in the swirling stream of water, and were carried downstream several thousand feet.

Mr. Outland does not appear to come to any conclusion as to whether or not, in his opinion, the dam was dynamited. I think it was, but I think whoever did it, perished in the flood.

He quotes a sarcastic and critical article from the Los Angeles *Record* which criticized John R. Richards. Mr. Richards was one of the men principally responsible for the official steps taken by the city of Los Angeles in having the city agree to assume not only the cost of restoration, but the payment of any damages for loss of life, injury, and for damage to property which resulted from breakage of the dam. It has probably been forgotten, but a personal judgment had been recovered against the members of the Water & Power Board in a taxpayers' suit for alleged misuse of public funds. So, I think some considerable credit is due those who were members of that Board in 1928, in being willing to risk that result, especially in view of the attitude first assumed by the city attorney.

Peirson Mitchell Hall, whose public service career began in 1925 as a member of the Los Angeles City Council, has been a Federal Judge, United States District Court, Southern District of California, since 1942.

Overland in 1846: Diaries and Letters of the California-Oregon Trail. Edited by Dale L. Morgan. (2 vols.; Georgetown, California, Talisman Press, 1963. 1-457, 458-825 pp. Illustrations, maps, appendix, notes, index. $20.00.) Reviewed by J. S. Holliday.

Quality—no other word better describes this or any book with Dale Morgan's name on it. Quality of scholarship, of writing style, of knowledge and understanding, and above all, quality of research. Here is an historian who never takes shortcuts, never is satisfied with half-answers or superficialities or echoes of what has been said before. Here is a book that from preface to index exhibits the kind of total effort that is characteristic of Dale Morgan's work. In this book, as in all his others, his introduction, his notes, his discovery and use of previously unknown sources, his suggestions and guidance for the research of others are major contributions to our knowledge and understanding of the American West. Anyone who know's Morgan's classic editing of *The Overland Diary of James Avery Pritchard from Kentucky to California in 1849*; his meticulous study of "The Ferries of the Forty-niners" (*Annals of Wyoming*, April 1959-October 1960); or his work with J. Roderic Korns in *West from Fort Bridger, Pioneering the Emigrant Trails Across Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1951)—anyone who knows these and his more recent publications can predict the quality and importance of *Overland in 1846.*

In his preface, Morgan describes these two volumes as "a source book for the emigration of 1846." So they are—and much more thanks to his introduction, his frequent comments and explanations, and his always informative notes. The sources consist of eight diaries written along the trail (Volume I) and scores of emigrant letters and newspaper accounts (Volume II). These personal and public reports Morgan gathered from various manuscript collections, from long ignored newspaper files and back issues of historical journals, and from descendants of the emigrants. Beginning in the early spring of 1846 along the Missouri frontier and concluding in the spring of 1847 in Oregon and California, this documentary record reveals "details of personal and universal experience which gives us a better understanding of the West as well as of the emigration of this particular year . . . What should emerge is a sense of magnificent spectacle, with human nature on the loose." Such is Morgan's assessment of these sources, and he is right. With vivid detail and sometimes raw emotion, they take the reader over the trails and the cut-offs that led to the climax of all overland suffering—the Donner tragedy in the Sierra Nevada.

The year 1846 calls to mind familiar names, not only the Donners and their companions, but also Lansford Hastings, John C. Frémont, James Clyman, Joel Palmer, Jesse and Lindsay Applegate, and Francis Parkman. Their travels east and west, from and to California and Oregon; their writings of what they saw and did and hoped, and the writings of others about them; their influence on the course of events that fateful summer—all this and more is carefully set forth in Morgan's one hundred and seventeen page introduction to Volume I. Here is the over-veiw, the broad perspective that reveals how complex and inter-related were the events of 1846.

Finally, it must be added that these are handsome volumes, solidly bound, well designed, with graphic scenes of life on the trail at the head of each chapter. And at the end of Volume I is a two-sheet facsimile of the map by T. H. Jefferson, "one of the great American maps, an extraordinarily original production . . ., a trail document of high importance." We are indebted to Morgan and the Talisman Press for the quality and lasting value of this publication.

J. S. Holliday is an assistant professor of history at San Francisco State College and author of the forthcoming history of the California Gold Rush.

A Southwestern Utopia. By Thomas A. Robertson. (Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1964. 266 pp. $5.95.) Reviewed by Pauline B. Deuel.

This revised and enlarged edition of Mr. Robertson's 1947 book is the story of a group of idealistic Americans who traveled to Sinaloa, Mexico, in 1886 to found a cooperative colony. Under the dynamic leadership of Albert Kimsey Owen—"day dreamer unlimited," as Mr. Robertson describes him—they hoped to establish a large city and to create a social, economic and political Utopia on the shores of Topolobampo Bay. The fact that their dreams included the construction of a railroad from Texas to Topolobampo makes this book extremely timely, for the recent completion of the Chihuahua-Pacific Railway has focused attention on this section of Mexico. The colonists' plans for prosperity in the Los Mochis region have been realized, but many years later and in quite a different way from the first efforts of that ill-fated settlement.

The book is divided into two parts: "Utopia in Sinaloa," which is the history of the colony, and "Memories of Sinaloa," a section devoted to Mr. Robertson's experiences with his Mexican and American neighbors and with the Yaqui and Mayo Indians of that region. Born and raised in the colony, Mr. Robertson knows the area thoroughly.

The experiences of the colonists make fascinating reading. Hundreds of Americans moved to Sinaloa, drawn by Owen's plans for Utopian living. Many were completely unfitted for the rigors of pioneer life, but they struggled valiantly to realize their dreams. Unfortunately, the inevitable jealousies, bickerings and personality conflicts arose (human nature being what it is), and by the turn of the century the noble experiment had failed and most of the colonists had returned to the States.

A biographical list of all the Topolobampo colonists and a selection of pioneer songs of the colony add interest to this unusual story. An Epilogue entitled "The Fuerte River Valley of 1963," brings the material up to date.

Book Notices

By Anna Marie and Everett Gordon Hager

Nevada's Department of Highways deserves an exceptionally large round of applause for their *Special Centennial Issue* (Carson City, Department of Highways, 1964. 64 pp.). It is a masterly reprint of Margaret Frink's 1850 diary of Dale L. Morgan's *Early Maps of Nevada* and of Gloria Griffin's *Peter Skene Ogden.* The entire periodical, richly adorned with color photographs of every historic townsite within the state, is a choice bargain for collectors of Western Americana.

A Guidebook to the San Bernardino Mountains of California, by Russ Leadabrand (Los Angeles, The Ward Ritchie Press, 1964. 118 pp. $1.50), is a splendid handful of superb notes, historical and present-day data, photographs, maps (complete with trails), and a bibliography and index. This is exceptionally good reading whether for the indoor or out-of-door devotee.

Unlimited is the variety and value to be found in the smaller paperback publications coming from various directions and just as many presses by professional or by amateur hobbyists. Foremost would be the publications of the Lane Publishing, La Siesta Press, and Interurbans. The latter's *Los Angeles Railway's Pre-Huntington Cars, 1890-1902* (Los Angeles, Interurbans, 1962. 74 pp. $2.00) contains splendid photographs. *Ferries of the South*, by Walt Wheelock (Glendale, La Siesta Press, 1964. 40 pp. $1.00)—although the title might mislead you—are the ferries of the Southland; namely, San Pedro, Balboa Island, San Diego, and Coronado, with material on Santa Catalina Island transportation and Yuma crossings added for good measure. *Sailers, Whalers and Steamers: Ships That Opened the West*, by Edith Thacher Hurd and illustrated by Lyle Galloway, and *Trains, Tracks* and *Trails: How the Railroads Reached the West*, by Norris Ewing, illustrated by Leavitt Dudley (Menlo Park, California, Lane Book Company, 1964. 64 pp. $1.50 paperbound, $3.50 casebound), are worthwhile items for youngsters of all ages with a thirst for large doses of information delivered in attractive and concentrated format.

All the way from Calgary, Alberta, Canada, comes a small brochure entitled *Bill Miner—Train Robber*, by Frank W. Anderson (Frontier Book No. 7, 3518 3rd Avenue, S.W. 56 pp. $1.00). It covers the fifty-year career of a stagecoach robber and train holdup expert who ranged from California to British Columbia and finally wound up in Georgia. Miner, who was the first to rob a train in Canada and in Georgia, twice escaped from San Quentin prison.

Mark Twain in Virginia City, by Paul Fatout (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1964. 240 pp. $6.50), displays the detailed extensive research technique typical of Fatout's biographical studies. It is enriched with numerous photographs, maps, and contains a strong bibliography, notes, and an index.

Two more items to be added to the ever-growing list of materials on the City by the Golden Gate will include *San Francisco at Your Feet: The Great Walks* *in a Walker's Town,* by Margot Patterson Doss (New York, Grove Press, Inc. 188 pp. $1.95), and John Castillo Kennedy's *The Great Earthquake and Fire: San Francisco, 1906* (New York, William Morrow and Company, 1963. 276 pp. $5.00). *The Great Earthquake* attempts to serve as the first full-length history of the earthquake and fire. Although some facsimiles of various proclamations and military passes are reproduced, the work lacks good photographs unless one includes the two appearing on the dust jacket.

The Sioux: Life and Customs of a Warrior Society, by Royal B. Hassrick (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1964. 338 pp. $5.95), presents the subject from the Sioux's own viewpoint, giving their interpretation of their world in the era of their greatest vigor and renown–the years 1830 to 1870. Embellished with forty excellent photographs and two good maps, appendices, bibliography, and index, this is a worthy and welcome addition to Press' *Civilization of the American Indian Series.*

Another imprint from the University of Oklahoma Press is *The Yellowstone National Park,* by Hiram Martin Chittenden, edited by Richard A. Bartlett (Norman, 1964. 208 pp. $1.95). One of the better park histories that does full justice to a wondrous national park, it is well assembled with fine photographs and forty-one pages of appendices.

The searcher of regional folklore of the United States will find a wealth of materials in Richard M. Dorson's *Buying the Wind* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1964. 574 pp. $7.95). Drawn from Maine down-easters, Pennsylvania Dutchmen, Southern Mountaineers, Louisiana Cajuns, Illinois Egyptians, and Southwest Mexicans, it presents a gay tapestry of American folklore. Dorson has prepared a five-part index of subject, tale types, motifs, informants and collectors, as well as a noteworthy bibliography.

Number three of volume one of *The American West,* published and distributed by the Lane Book Company for the Western History Association, is a rich item. Included among the six excellent articles are Dr. B. Sack's *Sylvester Mowry,* an outstanding biography; Roger B. Olmsted's *The Master Mariners' Regatta,* spanning 1877 to 1891 of San Francisco's colorful regattas; and Martin Ridge's *Why They Went West* on the economic opportunities on the Trans-Mississippi Frontier.

States, cities, and universities have recently marked their own particular anniversaries; now Lompoc Valley's La Purísima Catholic Church takes special note of its fiftieth year. Included with a history of its activities, this modern parish church (now in its fifth new building) presents a resumé covering Mission Purísima. Apply to the Reverend Andrew McGrath, La Purísima Church, Lompoc.

A welcome reprint of the 1869 Government Printing Office publication *Mineral Resources West of the Rocky Mountains,* by Rossiter W. Raymond, will be found in R. W. Raymond's *Old Mines of California and Nevada* (Toyahvale, Texas, The Frontier Book Company, 1964. 134 pp. $2.50).

Book of Remembrance

1964

Carl E. Ahlberg
David Powell Andross
Constant Auger
George Washington Baker
Edward A. Balling
Dale Lincoln Blanton
John F. Brady
Leon Ransom Brooks
Viola Mavis Hudson Brooks
Walter D. Brown
Mildred Campbell
Henry Coffin Carlisle
Marjorie Susan Carlton
Edward J. Carrillo
James Frederick Chappell
Gilbert Oliver Clayton
Mary Adeline Robinson Clayton
Dorothy Metzner Cookson
Oscar Cooper
Harry Innes Thornton Creswell
Ralph Herbert Cross
Eliza Paulina Maria Ygnacia
  Clara Elizalde Curletti
Lucie E. Northup Dobbie
Della Kruger Dunbar
Houghton Durbrow
June Wiley Durbrow
Ephraim Dyer
Mabel C. Edgar
Florence Hellman Ehrman
Mark C. Elworthy
James N. Eschen
Nellie Judge Etcheverry
Morton R. Gibbons
Alma M. Gillig
Allan Deane Glendenning
Mary Rust Goddard
Katherine Margaret Goodman
Elise Wenzelburger Graupner
Helen Louise Stadfeld Gray
Donnell Greely
Agnes Du Frane Gunther
George Alfred Gunther
Nancy Durbrow Hannaford
Margaret Wilson Harwood
Amy Browne Haswell
Henry Q. Hawes
Stuart Heatley
Walter James Herkenham
Clinton Monroe Hess
John J. Hillard
Wilbur L. Hiller
Barrett G. Hindes
Herbert Clark Hoover
  31st President of the United States
Worth Dixon Howard
Kathryn A. Hutchinson
Marjorie Mary Jackson
John J. Jardine
William Kent
Robert C. Kirkwood
Muriel Plummer Kohler
Ida Prien Lee
Hans Lisser, M.D.
Lillian B. Lochead
Ruth Turner MacKenzie
Leonard Magnus
Robert Carson Martin, M.D.
William Wallace Mein
Robert Hewitt Menzies
Katherine Granville-Cherkornik
  Metcalf
Tulita Wilcox Miner
Charles E. Mohle
Lawrence R. Moore
Minnie Sausalito Williwever Morris
Mabel Emily Morrison
Sara Maude Robinson Mott
May Hines Noonan
Francis J. O'Shaughnessy
Emelita Ralston Page
Alfred Bob Phillips
Dixwell Pierce
Marcia Jane Toye Plummer
William Edward Plummer
Alfred Redington Poett
Florence Donohue Prichard
Frederick William Quandt
Scott Rountree
Alice McCutchen Schmiedell
Thomas Slavin
Charles Elliott Stevens
Anna Barrows Stewart
Clara Bishop Swift
Douglas G. Tait
Paul Tebow
Ida Wickson Thomas
Marie Taylor Todd

Jules Emil Toussaint
Marion E. Utt
Mary Ellen Van Mavern
Harvey Van Pelt
Louise Otis Wagner
Mattie Whittier Weir
Artye Beesemyer Welch
William Franklin Whittier
Henry S. Yee
Alexander J. Young

In Memoriam

RALPH HERBERT CROSS

A MAN of intense personal drive, Ralph H. Cross first directed his seemingly boundless energy to the practice of law, beginning in 1899 upon graduation from Hastings College of Law. Before his ninety years were spent he had employed this energy, and a keen mind balanced with a warm sense of humor, in several fields, all with notable success: law, banking, real estate, civic activities, and—to a most unusual degree for one not primarily devoted to research—California history.

Mr. Cross lived in Oakland from 1891 to 1914 when he moved to Berkeley. It is said that he boarded the first ferry every morning for San Francisco, where he maintained his firm's offices in the Mills Building under the name of Cross & Brandt, later transferred to the Hunter-Dulin Building. Of the few who commuted that early, fewer remain to describe it; but there are many who recall the elderly, carefully dressed gentleman with the brief case and hurried stride, the diminutive goatee, and the blue eyes that required no optical assistance when Mr. Cross was traveling the street even in his eighties.

It is no mere eulogy to state that Ralph Cross had a certain resolute strength of character discernible at first glance.

He knew the celebrated lawyers of earlier San Francisco and he had his share of the colorful clients and the colorful cases. Among these were the contest of the will of the daughter of "Lucky" Baldwin. He counseled the mining group that achieved fame in Nome (reputedly the inspiration for Beach's story "The Spoilers") who returned to take over and finally complete construction of the Claremont Hotel. Eventually his sons, Francis and Ralph, joined him in the practice of law with the late Arthur H. Brandt, whom Mr. Cross invariably addressed as "Mr. Brandt" all during the thirty-six years of their association. Characteristic of the diversity of his zeal, Mr. Cross devoted much time to the Legal Aid Society of San Francisco.

He achieved prominence in banking as a founder and long-time president of the First National Bank in San Leandro. He became a leader in the California Independent Bankers Association. In keeping with his many business activities in the Bay Area Mr. Cross helped establish the Oakland Uptown Association.

But no avocation was dearer to the heart of Ralph Cross than the California Historical Society. His own past was well rooted in California history by reason of his parents coming here from Maine in 1852, and he was born on a farm near Sacramento. According to his own explanation, in 1936 he essayed the role of historian through the fortuity of having read, in a presumably reliable work, that none of the old California inns survived. Apparently, this allegation conflicted with his personal recollections and was an affront to historical accuracy he could not tolerate. There followed years of research, resulting in his book in 1954, *The Early Inns of California,* now widely regarded as a scholarly and authoritative contribution.

A member of the Society from 1936 until his death, Mr. Cross was elected its first fellow in 1958. His other offices and activities in the Society over the years are doubtless too familiar to require mention. He served on the committee to find new quarters for the Society in 1955 and 1956. Mr. Cross and Mrs. Cross were the largest individual contributors to the purchase of The Mansion. Periodically he made significant gifts of materials to the Society's library. Possessor of one of the finest private collections of works on California history, Mr. Cross saw to it by his will that this treasure shall pass to the Society. He also bequeathed $10,000 to the Society on the condition that the Society shall have received, within a year after his death, an additional $100,000 in contributions towards a permanent endowment fund.

Though it may be safely assumed that in his mind the Society has no peer among the many organizations to which Mr. Cross was devoted, he was proud too of his membership in the California Society of Sons of the American Revolution, the Society of Mayflower Descendants, Society of Colonial Wars, Native Sons of the Golden West, E. Clampus Vitus, and Friends of the Bancroft and Huntington Libraries.

Surviving him are his widow, Laura, of Berkeley; two daughters, Mrs. Margaret Tindell and Mrs. Eugenia Obrecht; and two sons, Francis L. and Ralph H. Cross, Jr.

The California history that Ralph H. Cross loved so well may properly record that few, if any, men have given more of themselves and their means to help set that history straight and to see that its glories are preserved for the inspiration of those who follow.

Robert C. Hays

WAGNER MEMORIAL AWARD

The Henry R. Wagner Memorial Award, made annually in the field of history, cartography, or bibliography and presented to the author of the work published within the preceding two calendar years which the Awards Committee shall have deemed most worthy of recognition, was presented to George R. Hammond on September 25, 1964. Mr. Hammond received the award for his compilation, annotation, and scholarly editing of the comprehensive edition of *The Larkin Papers: Personal, Business and Official Correspondence of Thomas Oliver Larkin, U.S. Consul in California.*

George P. Hammond's outstanding contribution to the study of the American West was recognized in the following address delivered during the presentation ceremony by J. S. Holliday, of San Francisco State College.

GEORGE P. HAMMOND – SCHOLAR

By J. S. Holliday

Recently a friend called my attention to a passage in Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, wherein the poet inquires: "Who are you indeed who would talk or sing to America?" Whitman then poses a series of questions—questions which bring to my mind George P. Hammond:

Have you studied out the land, its idioms and men?
Have you learned the physiology, phrenology, politics, geography, pride, freedom, friendship of the land?
Have you sped through fleeting customs, popularities?
Can you hold your hand against all follies, whirls, fierce contentions?
Are you very strong?
Have you, too, the old, ever-fresh forbearance and impartiality?

To know George Hammond, scholar and man, is to find positive answers to these searching questions . . . how carefully, thoughtfully he has studied the great West, its geography, its men, its prides and friendships, past and present . . . what whirls and fierce contentions he has weathered by maintaining his calm forbearance and impartiality . . . what strength of purpose and of integrity he has exhibited through the years.

I speak of these qualities of the man because the scholar and the man cannot be separated, especially not on this occasion, for the Henry R. Wagner Memorial Award in only a few years has achieved its value and recognition not alone for the scholarship it has honored but as well for the quality of the men—men of strength and fineness: Carl I. Wheat, Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., Dale L. Morgan, Thomas W. Streeter. Tonight's recipient joins these, his predecessors, as a man and a scholar who both enhances and deserves this award.

Quickly—for there are only a few minutes—I will speak of George Hammond: the scholar-author, the scholar-administrator, and of the man himself.

The award being given tonight cites Hammond's "compilation, annotation, and scholarly editing of the comprehensive edition of *The Larkin Papers—Personal, Business and Official Correspondence of Thomas Oliver Larkin, Merchant and United States Consul in California*." Published by the University of

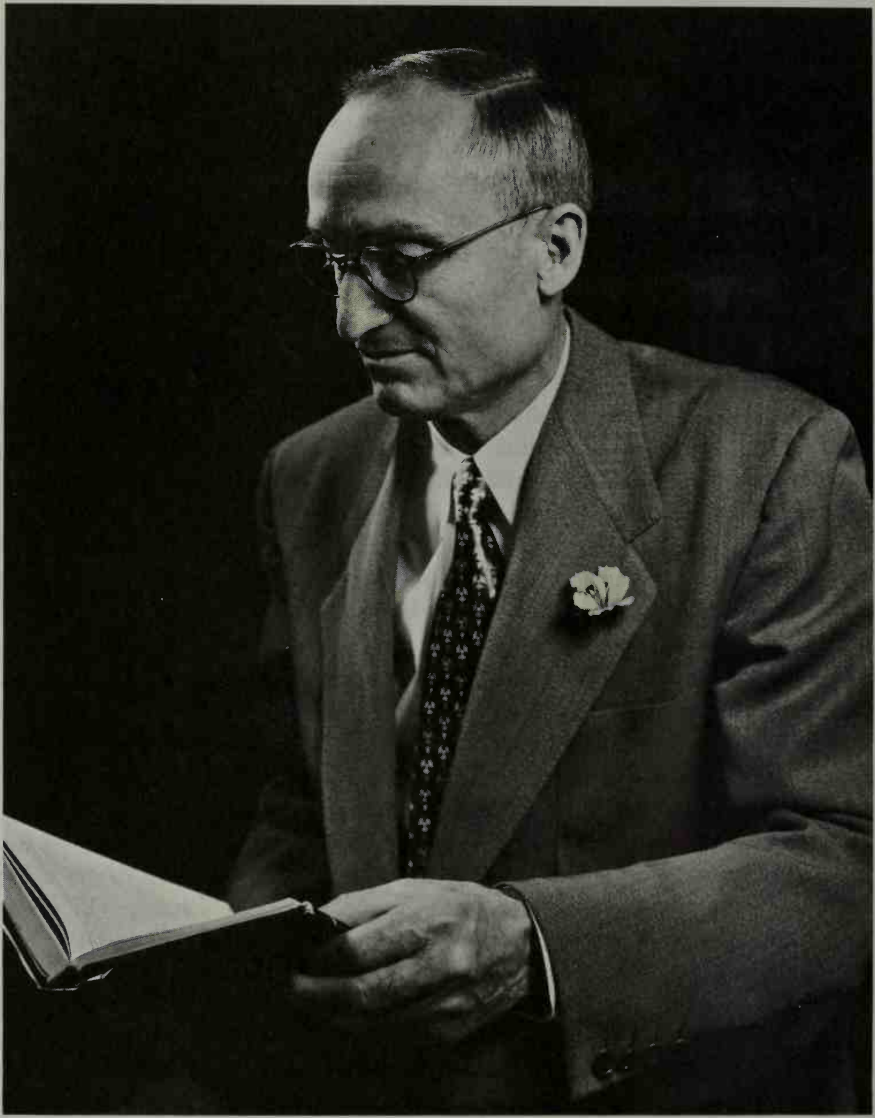
California Press in ten volumes (the tenth came out this year), they total some 3500 pages of many hundreds of documents, each meticulously transcribed from the hand-written original, each selected from the Bancroft Library's Larkin Collection of over 4000 letters to Larkin and copies of his official correspondence to the secretaries of State and Navy—all covering the period from 1822 to Larkin's death in 1858. These ten volumes are a monumental achievement, made possible by Hammond's unique combination of talents: an unrelenting purposefulness, an extensive experience as an editor of basic historic documents, and an intimate knowledge of early California history. Nothing less could have done the job.

To refresh my knowledge and appreciation of *The Larkin Papers,* I read through consecutively the ten introductions written by Hammond over a span of thirteen years. (The first volume was published in 1951.) These introductions reveal—indeed, they emphasize—the special qualities of George Hammond the scholar: his careful orderliness midst a complexity and diversity of events and people; his 360° awareness; and his never-failing ability to convey the mood, the color, the realities of the past. To draw the essentials from four thousand letters and records of business affairs and official reports; to order them and retain always the flavor and mood of the times and of the people; to express lucidly, forthrightly the historian's judgement of events and their causes—to do all this is the work of a master historian and editor, and that is the work exhibited in the ten introductions which open the way to the richness of the documents themselves.

And what of these Larkin papers? I can do no better than to quote George Hammond's assessment of their value, written when he first began the task of preparing them for publication: "Such original sources are never exhausted, no matter how often they are used. To one writer they serve one purpose—to another, still another. So it is that today these famous old manuscripts are being consulted by new generations. To them the records, old and hoary with tradition, are truly new discoveries. Indeed, that it how it will be a hundred or five hundred years from now. It is therefore our responsibility to make sure that they last that long." With the publication of Volume Ten, that responsibility was fulfilled.

I cannot resist quoting a few lines from *The Larkin Papers,* lines that will tell you something of the value and appeal of these letters and of the Hammond introductions. For instance, Larkin speaking of matrimony: "All love and no capital will never do for me." And Larkin writing in San Francisco during the height of the gold rush turmoil: "My head whirls with speculation; my hair grows gray by excessive working of my brain and ambition." And Jacob Leese, writing to his friend Larkin in 1850, when Larkin was thinking of taking up residence in New York: "Here you wil be a lyon and there you wil have to be as cunning as a fox."

These and scores of rich and memorable quotes are woven into the introduc-



GEORGE PETER HAMMOND
THE 1964 HENRY R. WAGNER MEMORIAL AWARD WINNER
Courtesy of the Bancroft Library

Courtesy of Academy of American Franciscan History

George Peter Hammond receives the 1964 Serra award of the Academy of American Franciscan History. *Left to right:* Father Mathias Kiemen, O.F.M., Dr. George P. Hammond, and Dr. France V. Scholes.

tions. And there are descriptive scenes by Hammond. For instance, one of a social event in April, 1846: The *Portsmouth* has anchored at Monterey, and the chief Mexican and California families invite Captain Montgomery and his officers to a picnic in the country. Hammond writes: "When the day came, a large part of the population gathered at the American consulate. . . . In small groups they rode the twelve or fourteen miles to the pleasure grounds. All the officers who could leave the ship went along. . . . It must have been a sprightly sight to see the whole party, a hundred strong or more, riding past Carmel Mission at a trot or gallop, some of the women riding double (the woman in the saddle, the man behind) and a file of soldiers out in front with banners flying from the tips of their lances." *There* is a scene to give substance to our visions of Pastoral California!

All this and so much more is found in these hundred pages of introductions, which are in effect a distillation of the thousands of Larkin documents, a brilliant summary of the economic, political, and human forces that shaped California history during the 1830's, '40's, and '50's.

The Larkin Papers, though ten volumes and thirteen years' work, are but one title in a bibliography of Hammond's publications. A recent count totaled eighty-seven titles, including book reviews. These evidences of scholarship and of perseverance are but one dimension of George Hammond's scholarly career. Since coming to the University of California at Berkeley in 1946, he has been a member of the history department, lending to it a steadying influence and a prestigious reputation. And through the years he has carried on his teaching, with lecture courses for undergraduates and seminars for graduate students.

Beyond this, there are the eighteen years of his directorship of the Bancroft Library, years that have added new lustre and significance to the tradition of scholarly leadership for the library. That tradition began with Hubert Howe Bancroft in the 1860's, continued through the years of Herbert Bolton. The Hammond years began in 1946 and have been marked by the constant expansion and deep enrichment of Bancroft's resources. Already a scholar of note when he came to the library, Hammond has never allowed his research and writing to deflect him from the great task of building Bancroft Library. And what a builder he has been!

I will mention only a few of the foundation stones that Hammond has put into place to support the recent and the future growth of the library. . . . The Friends of the Bancroft Library: they have been the cornerstone of the Hammond administration, and they are a tribute to his faith in his Friends and their faith in him. . . . The great Terrazas Collection, which was acquired by the main force of Hammond's confidence that this collection would serve the University for years to come as the major source for the study of the Mexican Revolution. It was that confidence, so quiet, but so persuasive, that brought about the decisions needed to raise the funds. The same was true of the recently purchased Honeyman Collection: undismayed by the half-million dollar price, convinced of the long-term value, Hammond and his Friends set about persuading and enlightening—and now that unexcelled visual record of California and the West is part of the vast pictorial collection of the Bancroft Library.

And another asset of the Library: Dale L. Morgan, brought to the staff by Hammond in 1954. What an eminence he is in Western history, and what a team Hammond & Morgan have been, as evidenced by *The Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Bancroft Library*, the first volume of which was published in 1962; and as evidenced by their daily rapport, their mutual assistance on a dozen projects and productions for Bancroft. This scholarly alliance includes as well other members of the Bancroft Library staff—men and women who under the encouragement of Hammond have found time to produce significant articles and books on California and Western history. Their own research and writing has thus given them a special feel, an empathy for the needs of scholars working at Bancroft.

The fact is that Bancroft Library is today stronger than ever before: stronger in its foundations of unexcelled resources, stronger in the breadth of its reputation, stronger in its magnetic attraction to scholars around the world. These strengths are lasting tributes to George Hammond, the scholar-administrator.

Finally, the man . . . a quiet man, but never still; a modest man, but never naive; a patient man, but never satisfied. And a man who knows not how to blow his own trumpet—instead he allows his work to speak for him. And how eloquent it is. But how good it is that there are Wagner Awards, occasions such as this, which speak loudly and lastingly in recognizing the scholar and his work when both have the strength and substance to survive fleeting customs and popularities.

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CROCKER-CITIZENS NATIONAL BANK

Though the name of Crocker-Citizens National Bank, California's oldest national bank, was adopted on November 1, 1963, as a result of the merger of Crocker-Anglo National Bank of San Francisco and Citizens National Bank of Los Angeles, the institution dates back to the days of the Gold Rush and the Iron Horse.

In November, 1870, California's first national bank charter was granted to Crocker-Anglo's earliest direct ancestor, The First National Gold Bank of San Francisco (later The First National). Charles Crocker, one of the "Big Four" of railroad fame, in 1883 helped organize Crocker-Woolworth & Co., later Crocker National Bank of San Francisco. On December 31, 1925, The First National and Crocker National united to form Crocker First National Bank.

The Anglo-Californian Bank, Ltd., incorporated in 1873 as an outgrowth of a mercantile business established in San Francisco in 1850, joined The London Paris National in 1909 to become The Anglo & London Paris National Bank and it in turn consolidated with the Anglo-California Trust Company in 1932, becoming The Anglo California National Bank.

Crocker-Anglo National Bank came into being in February, 1956, through the merger of Crocker First National and Anglo California National.

Citizens National Bank was founded as Citizens Bank in Los Angeles on October 10, 1890, and in 1901 was chartered as a national bank under the name of Citizens National Bank. The Broadway Bank and Trust Company, purchased by Citizens in 1911, operated separately under the name of Citizens Trust and Savings Bank until 1928, when it consolidated with Citizens National under the name of Citizens National Trust and Savings Bank of Los Angeles. In 1939, the name was shortened to Citizens National Bank.

Crocker-Citizens now operates over 235 banking offices in 135 communities throughout the State and has representative offices abroad in London and Manila.

BANCROFT-WHITNEY CORPORATION

Bancroft-Whitney Company, founded in 1856 by H. H. Bancroft, who later became one of California's early historians, is one of the largest legal publishers in the country. Bancroft employs close to 250 people and its sales force covers almost the entire country, Hawaii, and Alaska.

An editorial staff of between fifty and sixty attorneys write all the copy for an average annual output that is estimated to be in excess of 350,000 volumes, a figure which increases yearly with the needs of judges, attorneys, and legislatures.

The first book published by Bancroft appeared in 1857; it was Clark's Assistant for California by Henry J. Labatt, prominent law writer of that era. Other publishing highlights: 1878—first volume of American Decisions, and the beginning of the Annotated Reports System; 1886—Deering's California Codes, which since then have served three generations of California lawyers; 1921—California Jurisprudence, "first" in the popular state jurisprudences. Since then, it and its successor, California Jurisprudence 2d, are established as the cornerstone of every California lawyer's library.

In 1918, Bancroft-Whitney Company coordinated its efforts with the Lawyers Cooperative Publishing Company of Rochester, New York. This association, designed to give the legal profession the best in service, resulted in: American Law Reports, the most widely used, cited and quoted legal publication in the country; American Jurisprudence (1936); American Jurisprudence Legal Forms (1953); American Jurisprudence Pleading and Practice Forms (1956); American Jurisprudence Proof of Facts (1959); and the new American Jurisprudence 2d, State and Federal, announced in April of 1962.

Today, in their new building, over 100,000 square feet at Second and Brannan Streets, under the direction of Mr. Roderick H. Rose, President, Mr. Lawrence H. Davis, Vice President and Editor-in-Chief, Mr. Foster H. Taft, Vice President and Secretary, and Mr. Robert D. Taylor, Treasurer, Bancroft-Whitney looks forward to the future with confidence and to serving the Bench and Bar with the best in legal research material.

FMC CORPORATION

The company that is known today as FMC Corporation first took shape in 1928 at San Jose, California, when the Bean Spray Pump Company, a pioneer builder of orchard sprayers since 1884, acquired a leading producer of canning and dried fruit equipment and formed the John Bean Manufacturing Company. In 1929 this company changed its name to Food Machinery Corporation, and the familiar "FMC" letters, by which the company is now known, came into being.

FMC followed an aggressive program of expansion and diversification becoming a leading producer of food preparation, processing, packaging service and packing equipment; pumps, sprayers, agricultural, automotive service, materials handling, waste disposal, and petroleum equipment; and agricultural chemicals.

In 1948 FMC diversified further by acquiring a leading producer of basic industrial chemicals. Thus, FMC's base in agricultural chemicals along with a broad line of organic and inorganic chemicals dictated a change in company name, this time, to Food Machinery and Chemical Corporation.

As an outgrowth of war materiel production during World War II, FMC designs and produces armored personnel carrier vehicles, missile ground support equipment and high-energy missile and rocket fuels for the U.S. Armed Forces.

Today, FMC comprises a strategic balance of products broadly classified as industrial and agricultural machinery, basic chemicals, and specially created defense materiel. For better identity in these wide fields, the company name was changed to FMC Corporation in 1961.

FMC is a world-wide organization including fifteen major divisions, eleven subsidiaries, five affiliates, one jointly owned enterprise; embracing a total of ninety-seven production centers located in twenty-nine states and thirteen foreign countries. FMC is reputed to be one of the most extensively and uniquely diversified companies in America with 1962 gross sales of $506 million.

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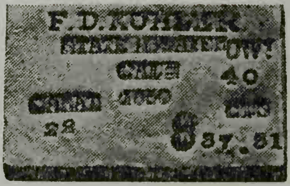

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The California Historical Society *Quarterly*

Historical Sources for a Contact Ethnography of Baja California
By Homer Aschmann

California, Why We Come; Myth or Reality
By Doyce B. Nunis, Jr.

A Study of Graduate Research in California History in California Colleges and Universities—Part IV
By Pamela A. Bleich

JUNE 1965

Missionary in Sonora

THE TRAVEL REPORTS OF JOSEPH OCH, S.J.

Translated and annotated by THEODORE E. TREUTLEIN

In this first translation of the complete reports of Joseph Och, S.J., both historians and the general reader are introduced to a memorable personality and to his observations on the character of New Spain in a critical decade of the eighteenth century.

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Theodore E. Treutlein is Professor of History at San Francisco State College. He received his Ph.D. at the University of California where he was a student of Herbert E. Bolton. Dr. Treutlein has also edited Father Ignaz Pfefferkorn's *Sonora, A Description of a Province.*

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Historical Sources for a Contact Ethnography of Baja California

By Homer Aschmann

THE INDIANS OF all but northernmost Baja California are extinct; except for a little help from archeology and the ethnography of neighboring regions we are completely dependent on historical documents for our understanding of their culture—a culture that seems to be of critical importance to the whole framework of ethnologic theory.

Baja California is a long peninsula tied to the North American mainland at the United States border and the state of California and, more tenuously, across a considerable stretch of extraordinarily sterile salt flats, with the delta and lower valley of the Colorado River. The Indians of the state of California can be characterized by extreme stability of residence and a neat and efficient ecologic adjustment to subsistence needs which did not provoke technologic or economic development. The wild biota was exploited for food and supported a large population. Though domesticated plants were known from contact with tribes to the east, the California Indians did not accept crop cultivation as worth the effort, and archeology shows that for millennia large populations sustained themselves without much technological progress or change in social and political organization.

Along the Lower Colorado the Yuman tribes, who are linguistic congeners of the Indians of the northern three-fourths of Baja California, as well as the Diegueño of San Diego and Imperial counties, did plant and harvest crops. Their techniques were specialized, exploiting seasonal flooding of the Colorado River, and could have no applicability

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in the almost riverless peninsula to the south. There is considerable indirect evidence that the flood-farming of the Colorado tribes (Yuma and Mohave) was a recent development, as was the violent war pattern that in recent centuries chased several other Yuman tribes up the Gila River into physically less attractive country.[1]

As one proceeds southward in Baja California the productivity of the terrain declines rapidly due to increasing drought. There are fewer plants and animals (although some new and useful desert plant species do occur), and vast areas are uninhabitable most of the time because of the absence of permanent sources of potable water. The shoreline was rich in food resources, but lack of water sources made much of it inaccessible.

The Indians of California may have known periods of food scarcity, even famine, from time to time, but their lands were normally rich, productive, and attractive. The central half of Baja California is desperately poor; man there was hungry if not starving through most of the year. In the far south fairly regular summer rains support a richer flora and fauna, and the isolated southern tip of the peninsula is a not unattractive land for men possessing simple cultures.

Entering from the north, then, groups of Indians must have pushed farther down the *cul de sac* of the peninsula into progressively more inhospitable terrain. The groups behind them were in better country, and would be more numerous and stronger as well as in contact with other parts of the continent whence progressive technology could diffuse. There was no road back. The initial entrants finally reached a better though limited land. Later comers, even if they had small technical and organizational superiority, would be too few in number, and too hard-pressed to gain a living, to displace them. The linguistic pattern of the peninsula supports this assumption. The little known and apparently isolated Guaicura and Pericú linguistic groups of the far south are separated from the rest of North America by the more recently intrusive Yumans.[2]

Thus Baja California could serve as a collecting place for the oldest and most primitive aboriginal cultures in the New World, stratigraphically arranged with the oldest at the bottom. Items of material culture such as the atlatl or spear thrower could be preserved in use into the ethnographic present; so could elements of religious or ceremonial significance such as the capes of human hair worn by shamans on important occasions. Only Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego present a comparable opportunity for preservation of primitive cultures through geographic isolation.

The data of archeology add some complexity to this argument. The recent investigations of William C. Massey[3] and especially Brigham A. Arnold[4] have demonstrated that the period of human occupation of the peninsula is very long indeed, probably to be measured in tens of thousands of years. In the Laguna Seca de Chapala area Arnold's careful physiographic analysis, based on the distribution of three distinct assemblages of stone artifacts, shows that man was present during times of much heavier rainfall. The Pleistocene period when cyclonic storm tracks followed more southerly routes must have been involved. Whether the Pericú, the most southerly group in the peninsula, go back to this distant time or whether they are more recent, though certainly very old, immigrants is not yet known.

In dry caves in the far south a number of secondary human burials, the bones wrapped with matting and colored with red ochre, were reported by Ten Kate during the late nineteenth century.[5] Massey has excavated others and brought them to Berkeley for study.[6] The bones do not appear to be especially old, but they represent a very unusual population. The skulls are consistently and distinctively shaped and are perhaps the narrowest of any human population known, though individual freaks may equal them. Were these physically distinctive humans the historic Pericú, Pleistocene man surviving in isolation down to historic times? We cannot yet say. If so, how did they gain their living, and how did they organize their society? In any event the peculiar significance of the Indians of Baja California to an understanding of the culture history, even the human biological history, of the New World is apparent. Would that they could still be observed, but we must rely primarily on documentary records concerning them.

A parallel, theoretical as well as intrinsic, interest attaches to the question of how men with only simple tools could gain a livelihood in the barren central portion of the peninsula. I believe that I have demonstrated, largely from documentary sources, that they did so in numbers about five times as great as those of the present population.[7] Tools were an important but not the only requisite in this subsistence pattern; extraordinarily detailed knowledge of the detailed distribution of the fauna and flora, and how parts of the latter could be rendered edible, were needed and present; finally a pattern of social organization existed that let small groups of appropriate sizes exploit the sparse and widely distributed food resources in times of scarcity and also brought larger groups together for social and ceremonial interaction on the brief occasions of food abundance.

The Indians in the northern part of Baja California who have survived to the present and can be interviewed by professional anthropologists afford only a little help in understanding the cultures and economies of the lost groups farther south. The Diegueño, Paipai, and even the Kiliwa lived in relatively rich country, and their economies and nonmaterial culture patterns have close affinities with those of California. The Cucupa in the Colorado Delta relate to the Yuma and Mohave, practicing the flood-farming and recreational fighting that their distinctive environment permitted. The Seri across the Gulf of California in Sonora may be more relevant. They subsist in a barren environment by hunting, gathering, and fishing as did the Indians of Baja California. Even when they were visited by McGee[8] at the end of the last century, however, their culture was fugitive and impoverished. It is in worse shape now. Seeking to avoid cultural extinction under the impact of the Sonora Missions they withdrew to an especially dry and desolate stretch of the Gulf Coast, where a small number still survive.[9] But if we would learn of the Seri, again we must go back to the mission documents of the eighteenth century and before to get any appreciation of their undistorted aboriginal culture.

When an ethnographer studies a surviving primitive tribe he visits it, lives within the community if at all feasible, eating and hungering with the natives, and participating in all social and ceremonial activities to which he can gain entry. He also pays native informants to teach him the language and answer questions about social relations, religious beliefs, and other aspects of culture that are not readily accessible to direct observation. Most important he possesses a body of theory about the structure and function as well as the content of a human culture that has been built up by about a century of anthropological study. Without entering into a discussion of the epistemology of ethnographic knowledge, it may be legitimate to say that the modern student knows, within limits, what to look for and what questions to ask to get a reasonably coherent understanding of the culture he is studying. Known regularities in the interrelations of various aspects of social and cultural behavior will afford leads for investigation. The rather consistent relations between kinship terminology and lines of inheritance of property may serve as an example. The competent modern student will not work from a questionnaire and will always be looking for a new and unsuspected culture pattern or element in the group he is studying, but his frame of reference is a refined product of a scientific tradition. The possibility that the ethnographer's frame of reference may narrow his interests to a point where he sees only a small part of the culture he investigates does exist. That danger is probably growing, and it sets a definite limitation to the worth of the work of comparative sociologists. But universalism in the study of culture has long been a vigorously held goal among anthropologists, perhaps more than anything else providing intellectual coherence to their discipline.

Historical documents can be and are asked the same questions about peoples and cultures that are no longer accessible to observation and interrogation. By careful analysis they can be made to provide answers of surprising detail and notable validity. Some of their limitations are obvious, and inescapable; others are more subtle and, though with some danger, may be subject to effective correction. Finally, historical documents can reveal facets of a culture, particularly its dynamic character, that even the most skilled modern ethnographer could not uncover.

The obvious limitation, of course, is that only what was recorded is preserved. The absence of a statement about some culture element or pattern does not mean that it did not exist or even that it was unimportant. The discovery of a new diary or letter concerning a particular people is always exciting, and rarely does such a document fail to add new information or clarify a relationship.

The more subtle problem is that the observer and recorder was almost always from outside the culture he was describing. (The Inca Garcilasso de la Vega is, to some degree, one of the rare exceptions.) He may not have had any comprehension of the significance of a ritual or some bit of social behavior that he observed. Was a grotesque dance step at a religious ceremony a free individual improvisation or a patterned action that could not be varied without destroying the ceremony? He could also interpret social behavior and religious or supernatural belief only in terms of his own cultural norms and, until the development of the anthropological disciplines, his view was likely to be narrow. The puritanical and strongly patriarchal attitude of upper-class Spaniards (and most Spanish Jesuit missionaries were from that class) toward social and sexual relations shows clearly in their discussions of those aspects of the cultures of the Indians of Baja California. When they observed that sexual activity on certain occasions was not restricted to spouses, they could interpret the pattern only as one of a culture too primitive to maintain effective restrictions on the actions of sexually aggressive males. The German, Baegert, coming from a less patriarchal tradition, could see and report that the females commonly made the advances,[10] and, though he deplored it, they were not regarded by other Indians as in any sense "fallen women."

The answer to this limitation is to do an ethnography of the culture of the individual observer. What were the value system and the norms of social behavior in the particular European cultural milieu in which he was reared? The Jesuit missionaries to Baja California had a fairly consistent, religiously derived value system. But they came from many nations and had seen different societies in their boyhoods. Apart from their varying personal acuity we get different sorts of reports from the Spanish-Italian aristocrat Salvatierra, Baegert, the stolid Alsatian peasant, and Consag, a cosmopolitan Hungarian-Croatian nobleman.

The two major compendia on Baja California, Venegas and Clavigero, accentuate the problems. They were written by people who had not seen the peninsula, from reports and answers to questionnaires from missionaries in the field. Both were professional historians and sought to give a coherent account from often contradictory reports. Thus a double distortion may be introduced. But the completeness of these works makes them too important to avoid.

Conversely, the documents on Baja California have their virtues. The Jesuits maintained strong intellectual curiosity concerning the mores of all parts of mankind, even if they were eager to alter or destroy some of them, and there may have been some survival of the extraordinary historical tradition of Sahagún. The very primitiveness of the cultures of Baja California made them an item of special theoretical and theological interest. The missionaries learned the native language and might remain, almost alone, at a mission for a decade or longer. Few modern ethnographers ever get so full and intimate, let alone extended, an exposure to the group they are studying. Also there are the opportunities for diachronic observations over a period from the visits of Cortés and Ulloa in the early sixteenth century to past the middle of the eighteenth century. Only after 1700 were the native cultures seriously disturbed by the missions. Thus some appreciation of the internal dynamism of the native cultures, both without and with serious impacts from abroad, may be gleaned. Even if the Indians still survived, we would find the documents of great ethnographic as well as historical interest for what they could tell us of internal modification of the natives cultures over a period of four hundred years.

THE FOUR MAJOR DOCUMENTS

The great compendium of Father Miguel Venegas contains the most comprehensive account of the Indians of southern and central Baja California. Its Jesuit author was assigned to the task of writing a history of the Jesuit mission to California. He utilized official and published historical sources dealing with the peninsula prior to Jesuit entry in the late seventeenth century. He apparently was given access to all reports from the missionaries and also was allowed to send questionnaires to individual missionaries on the detailed history and state of their particular missions. A copy of one of his follow-up letters was preserved and is published in Ocaranza's *Crónicas y relaciones del Occidente de México.*[11] It interrogates, almost cross-examines, Father Luyando of Mission San Ignacio on some apparent inconsistencies or inaccuracies in the latter's response to an unknown initial questionnaire. It may be pertinent to add that shortly before Father Luyando had been retired from the field as unsuited for the hard life at that frontier mission. Venegas completed his manuscript entitled *Empressas Apostólicas de los PP. Missioneros de la Compañía de Jesús . . . en la Conquista de Californias* . . . in November, 1739. A beautiful and apparently perfect copy is in the Bancroft Library and an incomplete one in the Huntington Library.

Historical and biographical detail on the mission activities forms about half of the two thousand numbered paragraphs. A quarter of the manuscript deals with pre-Jesuit history, and the remainder is a description of the region and its inhabitants, though relevant additional information on those subjects appears in the historical accounts of individual missions. The work is not without redundancy. The assembled descriptions of the Indians suffer from the fact that they are not only interpretations but secondary interpretations by one who had never seen the place or its peoples. Further, the accounts are generalized as to place, and only when similar data appear in the historical section can a report be associated with a particular tribe or group.

The work was not published until 1757, when it was completely worked over by Father Andrés Marcos Burriel and published in three volumes in Madrid.[12] A number of separate documents are included in the third volume, only one of which, Consag's account of his voyage up the Gulf of California in 1746, adds useful material that Venegas did not have access to. There have been many subsequent editions, including an early poor one in English.[13] The recent Mexican edition is good.[14]

Burriel reduced the prolixity of the original and made it more readable. By putting the material concerning the Indians into a single section, and selecting only one of apparently contradictory statements about them, however, he added a tertiary set of interpretations rendering the work far less useful for ethnographic analysis. Often reference to the original manuscript shows that the contradictory statements referred to different tribal groups or times, but frequently they cannot be sorted out.

Father Francisco Javier Clavigero was a professional Jesuit historian, and he completed and published his *Storia della California* in Venice in 1789, after the Jesuits had been expelled from the Spanish domains in 1768. Again he collected his material on the Indians into a single section without reference to the source of the report. He, of course, had access to the reports accumulated between 1739 and 1768, and these, so far as the Indians were concerned, dealt almost exclusively with the newly missionized areas between San Ignacio and San Fernando Velicatá. Wherever Clavigero makes statements about Indians that cannot be matched in Venegas or which contradict the latter, they may with some security be referred to the Cochimí who occupied this region. A good English translation was published by the Stanford University Press in 1937.[15]

Nachrichten von der Amerikanischen Halbinsel Californien: mit einem zweyfachen Anhang falscher Nachrichten by Father Johann Jakob Baegert, published in Mannheim in 1772, is a fundamentally different sort of work. Baegert was a Jesuit missionary who served in Baja California from 1751 to 1768, almost all the time at Mission San Luis Gonzaga in Guaicura territory. He wrote the book shortly after his expulsion and apparently had little opportunity to consult historical references. His general historical section is full of minor specific errors. Baegert was, for a Jesuit, an unusually unintellectual man, and his long isolation at a lonely mission did not help to keep him in touch with the intellectual currents of his age. He was forced to write largely on what he had seen and experienced, and was not even very interested in the way in which his observations fitted into a general theory of history and society except in the most general reference to Catholic dogma.[16] Therein lies the extraordinary merit of his work.

His descriptions can be referred to a particular group of Indians, and he reported what he saw whether it made sense to him or not. Many topics of interest, of course, he did not discuss; here is a mass of raw but also objective and unstructured data. Unfortunately, the Guaicura had been under strong mission influence for more than a decade before Baegert's arrival, so he never saw the functioning aboriginal society. One may only hope that a pioneer missionary with a similar naive objectivity has written a comparably extensive manuscript and that it will some day come to light.

A good English translation was published by the University of California Press in 1952.[17] The Mexican edition of 1942[18] is excellent and contains as a bonus Paul Kirchhoff's brilliant introductory essay "Las Tribus de la Baja California y el Libro del P. Baegert," which relates Baegert's data to the culture history of Western North America.

The three letters that comprise the *Noticias de la provincia de Californias* by Father Luis Sales are a much smaller work but they similarly endeavor to give a comprehensive account of the native culture. Sales, a Dominican missionary, came to Baja California in 1772 and stayed until 1790. His letters were written about 1789 and published in Valencia in 1794. By the time Sales and the Dominicans reached the peninsula the Indian cultures south of San Fernando Velicatá were completely disorganized under mission influence. What Sales described must refer to the northwest corner of the peninsula, the Dominican Frontier, where he spent most of his career and where the Indian cultures were functioning during his time. This approaches the Upper Californian culture area and includes some groups that survive, though with reduced native cultural inventories. Although Sales introduced as many or more interpretations of doubtful validity into his descriptions of the Indians as did the earlier Jesuit writers, they are easier to discount because the partial survival of the described cultures permits modern checking and comparison.

Sales' original work is extremely rare, but in 1956 Glen Dawson published an English translation[19] that makes its ethnographic information as well as its valuable historical data on the Dominican period available.

MINOR DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

Two briefer but important manuscripts contain relatively general descriptions of the Indians of Baja California. In an unpublished volume by Pedro Alonso O'Crouley on the Kingdom of New Spain there is a description of Baja California by the Jesuit Father Norbert Ducrue, dated 1765.[20] Although he only occasionally refers to a specific locality, his discussions of the Indians seem to apply primarily to those living north of San Ignacio and by their localization are thus more valuable. Another original document, now in the Huntington Library, is entitled "Addiciones á las noticias contenidas en la Descripción compendiosa de lo descuvierto, y conocido de la California."[21] It appears to be material collected for Venegas' great work, but it arrived too late to be utilized. Clavigero did utilize both of the above manuscripts, but he mixed their data in with information from other parts of the peninsula so that without the originals the valuable specificity as to place is lost. The "Addiciones" refers very specifically to the region north of San Ignacio and, though, as the title indicates, there is no effort to give a comprehensive description, the specific references to Indian customs are clear and objective accounts.

The authorship is not stated, but it is my belief that these careful notes were prepared by Father Consag in the early 1740's when he was evangelizing wild or gentile Indians on the mission frontier north of San Ignacio. The writing style resembles that which appears in the two diaries of his explorations up the Gulf Coast in 1746 and along the central west coast of the peninsula in 1751. In all these writings there is a lucidness that exceeds Baegert's. They also share the latter's concreteness in description that inspires ethnographic confidence of a high order. Further, he was dealing with Indians who were just beginning to come under mission influence.

Two published accounts of the natural history of the peninsula have substantial value for their descriptions of the ways the Indians utilized the native flora and fauna of their environment. A compilation by the "Padre Collector" from letters by Salvatierra and other missionaries, apparently written about 1762, was recopied in 1792 and finally published in 1857.[22] It not only gives long lists of animals and plants that were eaten, but discusses their capture and preparation. A description of the use of parts of two different kinds of plants for fish poisoning is a particularly interesting item.

José Longinos Martínez, an official and scientist, made an expedition to both Californias in 1792 to study the natural history, and his report was edited and published by the Huntington Library in 1938[23] By his time the Indian culture was functioning only in the Dominican Frontier, and Longinos made trips into the interior to visit areas and Indian rancherías that were under only light mission influence. Although he was a professional natural historian, his observations were made on horseback. Few of his botanical identifications have validity, and his statements of what the Indians did with the wild plants and animals have the ring of hearsay. They do not inspire the same confidence as do the accounts of the professionally unself-conscious missionaries who lived among and observed the Indians for years.

Two other sorts of documentary materials are likely to contain fugitive bits of ethnographic information of the greatest worth. These are accounts and diaries of explorations, and letters from pioneer missionaries either to their superiors or to friends in Europe. In both types of record the source of any observation can be pinpointed as to both time and place. The information is likely to be sporadic and in any document to refer only to a few particular items of culture. It is also likely to be specific and accurate and not elaborated into a rational but not necessarily true description of a culture complex. The number of such diaries and letters in existence is indeterminate. Only a few have been published, and many may exist unidentified in archives and private collections. A few that are known from secondary sources to have been written cannot now be located.

I shall not attempt a comprehensive listing of either exploration diaries or letters (and sometimes a narrative letter takes on the chronological character of a diary) that contain relevant ethnographic data on the Baja California Indians. Rather I will mention a few valuable items that illustrate their range in time and space and show some of their content. Surviving reports on the early Becerra and Cortés expeditions, that discovered the Cape Region of Baja California in 1534 and thereafter, contain little of interest other than that Indians lived there who were uncivilized and unfriendly.

The Ulloa expedition of 1539-40, however, provides two parallel and rewarding accounts. That of Francisco Preciado was published by Hakluyt.[24] H. R. Wagner's *California Voyages 1539-41*[25] reprints a variant of it. There are reports of expert swimmers along the middle Gulf Coast, clearly a shellfish gathering economy; and for Cedros Island off the West Coast, and the approximate terminus of the voyage, there is a great deal of information on a numerous population with a highly developed technology for exploiting marine resources. Nearly two centuries later in 1731 (as reported in Venegas),[26] Father Taraval, the next European to visit the island, removed a small, culturally decadent population to Mission San Ignacio. Evidently European epidemics had preceded the missionaries, reducing the native population to a point that its culture had virtually collapsed. Cabrillo in 1541, conversely, reports little of interest on the peninsula.[27] Vizcaíno's voyage up the West Coast in 1603 put in at different places,[28] and the account of a marine oriented economy at Magdalena Bay that used some sort of fish traps is of interest as is the report of a large ceremonial structure, perhaps a variant of the sweat house or *temescal* so well known from Upper California, somewhat north of Cedros Island.

From the middle of the sixteenth century until the peninsula was turned over to the Jesuits in 1697, and to a limited extent thereafter, the southern part of the Gulf Coast was visited sporadically by pearling expeditions, some legally chartered and some engaged in poaching. These were not literary visitors nor had they any particular interest in the Indians. From their brief reports, however, Massey was able to establish that the atlatl or dart-thrower was in use in the Cape Region, along with the bow and arrow, between 1615 and 1640.[29] By the time missionaries reached the area in 1720 that primitive weapon, common in North America at the beginning of the Christian era, had been completely displaced even in this backward end of the earth. Of particular interest is the fact that the historic descriptions of the dart-thrower match the archeologically recovered objects Massey found in dry caves in 1947 and subsequently.[30]

During their first years at any mission the letters of the missionaries were filled with specific statements concerning the customs of the local Indian population. Similar references occur whenever a missionary reported on an exploration or *entrada* in some district more than a day's journey from his headquarters. Once a given mission was well established, however, perhaps five years after its founding, references to native customs disappear from the reports which then focus on the economic and spiritual progress of the mission. A missionary might, as did Baegert and Sales, after a long stay in the field, put together a general description of the culture of Indians he dealt with. But the maintenance of his mission shortly came to dominate his regular correspondence.

Thus we find letters from Salvatierra describing the Indians around Loreto, Ugarte concerning those at San Xavier and also at Guadalupe where he cut the logs to build his famous boat, Bravo and Guillén at La Paz, and Piccolo at Mulegé, Tamaral at La Purísima, Hostell at San Luis Gonzaga, and Linck at San Borja, each from a date shortly after the founding of the particular mission. Some are still in manuscript form, commonly in the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City or the Archivo General de Indias in Seville but also appearing in smaller collections as at the University of Texas, the British Museum, or the Huntington Library. The archives in Rome have not been examined thoroughly from this standpoint and may well contain a wealth of material. Items have been published individually in Mexico and in California. There are two collections of letters that merit special mention. *Documentos para la Historia de México* has already been mentioned. Series II, Vol. I, and Series IV, Vol. V, contain a number of valuable early letters by Salvatierra and others. *Das Neuen Welt Botts*[31] contains a surprising wealth of material. This multifolio work consists of letters from Jesuit missionaries all over the world written between 1642 and

1760. If they were not originally in German they were translated. Some were to relatives in Germany; others seem to have been obtained, after some delay, from Jesuit headquarters. The heavy attention to Baja California in this world-wide coverage shows how spiritually important to the Jesuits this backward and impoverished peninsula was.

Most of the mission explorations were relatively informal affairs. From a base at the frontier mission a priest and an escort of one to three soldiers, accompanied by a number of converts from his mission, would set forth for a few days or weeks into gentile territory. The shorter expeditions were reported in narrative letters. A diary or journal was often kept on the longer ones. Items likely to be reported were hunting and fishing techniques and new plant foods or new ways of exploiting them. Since the expedition was dated, very specific information as to the seasonality of various subsistence activities can be gleaned. For example, Father Piccolo's letter of June 24, 1709, reporting on a trip to the West Coast from Mulegé,[32] makes it clear that the grass and *bledo* seeds being gathered for food were from annual plants that had grown following winter rains. In November, 1716, Piccolo explored the future site of Mission San Ignacio. A major interranchería ceremony associated with the pitahaya harvest was taking place and representatives of fifty rancherías or bands were reported to be in attendance. The most thorough and accurate report is in manuscript,[33] although it or some variant is referred to by both Venegas and Clavigero. This is the most circumstantial description of native religious practice that we have from the peninsula, and as such is of enormous worth. The longer formal discussions of religion by the chroniclers are full of interpretative comment that makes them far less reliable.

Exploring in the area north of San Ignacio, Father Consag undertook three formal expeditions. The diary of the first up the Gulf Coast to the mouth of the Colorado River in 1746 was included in the published version of Venegas.[34] The diary of his land journey of 1751 from near Santa Gertrudis up the West Coast of the peninsula has also been published.[35] The diary of his 1753 expedition up the center of the peninsula from the same place cannot be located. Clavigero, however, refers to all three, and the data recorded by this keen observer on the 1751 expedition are of such value, not only on the native subsistence economy but also concerning religious activities and the associated artifacts, that the discovery of the 1753 document is eagerly hoped for. From San Borja in 1766, Father Wenceslao Linck crossed the desert and penetrated the Sierra San Pedro Mártir. His manuscript diary was used by Clavigero, and a copy apparently exists in the Biblioteque Nationale in Paris,[36] but I have only seen notes taken from it. It also appears to be rich in specific ethnographic detail.

Since some of the Indians from the Dominican Frontier survive, we are not so dependent on historic accounts for their ethnography, but if the historic data were good they would provide an excellent bench mark for studying cultural dynamics in an attenuated contact situation. Except for Sales' generalized account they are not. The Franciscans and their soldier escorts (Serra, Crespi, Portolá, and Palóu) were just passing through from 1768 to 1773, and show only the most modest interest in the local Indians. The Dominican Father Mora, on his inspection visit of November, 1773, which led to the founding of Mission Rosario, had more to say,[37] but he can scarcely qualify as an objective observer of native customs. He hated them. Arrillaga's explorations in the interior of the frontier in 1796 contain useful comments, though his interest was in physical geography and its relation to mission logistics.[38]

The Libros de Misiones, containing records of Indian baptisms, burials, and marriages, constitute a final source of ethnographic data though, of course, an indirect one. Where baptisms were recorded with a Christian first name and a native last name, along with a ranchería identification, a mass of linguistic material is preserved. The fact that missionaries of varying nationalities, in sequence, had the task of literating the spoken sounds, and did so differently, actually offers an unusually good chance for a modern linguist to precisely identify the phonemes of the native tongues and sound shifts from one mission area to another. Unfortunately, only rarely can a named ranchería be located, but the number of baptisms from it affords an estimate of the size of that fundamental social entity. Birth and survival rate data can also be extracted from the earliest baptismal records.

The native personal naming tradition was specific—each name had two parts. A fairly limited number of first parts were always associated with one or the other sex. A similarly limited number of suffixes were not sex-linked. Did they refer to a clan affiliation? Libros from Mulegé, Santa Gertrudis, and San Borja all show variants of the same personal names, indicating a cultural as well as a linguistic unity over a distance of some two hundred airline miles.[39]

I still have hopes of finding a competent modern linguist with historical interest who might be induced to work over with me this mass of linguistic material for what else it may yield.

ETHNOGRAPHIC INTERPRETATION

Since the eighteenth century ethnographies of Venegas and Clavigero cannot be regarded as fully adequate for modern purposes, what additional understanding has been and may be gained by this laborious examination of original sources? This question may best be answered by considering separately some examples of what we now have learned about the Indians of Baja California in each of several cultural categories, and the problems that call for further investigation.

Linguistics: From statements referent to language by the missionaries, surviving place names, the short vocabularies and translations in Clavigero, the word list obtained by Gabb from the last survivors at Santa Gertrudis in the 1850's,[40] and from the personal names in the surviving mission registers it is demonstrable that from south of Loreto to beyond the United States border all the Indians belonged to the Yuman linguistic family. Further, in the Central Desert, from north of Rosario to south of Mulegé, the dialects were so close together that they can be placed in a single language, Cochimí. To the north and south there were considerable numbers of separate though related languages. As Massey pointed out, this distribution suggests a very long Yuman occupation of the northern three-fourths of the peninsula with the languages diversifying *in situ*.[41] Of theoretical interest is the fact that in the north and south, where the country was moderately productive, and fairly sedentary residence was feasible, the languages of these small social groups diversified widely just as did the enormously varied Indian languages of Upper California. The fundamentally peaceful nature of these societies may also be relevant. In the Central Desert, where the country was poor and food and water sources often failed locally, forcing migration on the Indians, enough intergroup contact developed to sustain linguistic unity over a very large territory.

The data are poorer for the Guaicura, Huchití, and Pericú languages to the south. The missionaries noted that they were distinct languages and not related to the Yuman. Baegert provides some material on the Guaicura,[42] but little indeed is known concerning the other groups—a few place names and random words are all that have been found. Massey has postulated a Guaicurian linguistic family including all the southern groups, but the documentation is thin.[43] Since the geographic position of the Guaicurian family suggests very early arrival and long isolation, relating these southerly Indians to other groups would provide an exciting clue to very ancient migrations of peoples and cultures in North America. The eagerness with which the discovery of any valid linguistic material from these southern groups is awaited can readily be appreciated. It might come from personal names in a mission register, or, even better, from a manuscript letter or report from some missionary in the area.

Subsistence Economy: I have endeavored to exploit the documentary sources as completely as possible to get a precise understanding of how so many Indians managed to support themselves in the barren land of the Central Desert.[44] The story is an inspiring example of human ingenuity, in terms of observation rather than technology, in working out a fine ecological adjustment to the most difficult of environmental conditions. I believe that the main story is clear though new bits of data may refine it. Peveril Meigs has worked out a similar account for the northern part of Baja California.[45] The story for the far south has not yet been extracted from the documents, and, since mission influence and the decadence of native cultures came there earlier, it may be harder to develop. The existence of additional and distinctive biotic resources in this region, and the postulated longer isolation and even greater technological primitiveness on the part of the people, create a special interest in the nature of their economy.

Social Organization: My own efforts to learn the nature of social organization among the Cochimí of the Central Desert were directed to an analysis of how the organization of individuals into family groups, families into rancherías or bands, and a number of rancherías into larger societal entities that co-operated, at least temporarily, for some purpose, was related to the ecological adjustment to the environment. The results were not surprising, confirming conclusions arrived at ethnographically by Julian Steward in the Great Basin[46] and by others in comparably severe environments. The simple family was the basic unit, but it was always related to larger social entities. These relationships were flexible, so that their maintenance would not threaten survival in times of drought and famine. Then individual families would disperse and seek sustenance over the widest range possible. On the other hand seasonal or occasional conditions of easy food availability were exploited vigorously to maximize social contact among the greatest possible number of families within the same linguistic realm. Commonly these major gatherings were associated with religious or ceremonial activities. It seems ever more probable that such a pattern of social relations has characterized the human species for most of its history.

The data from the documents might also be interpreted in terms of social structure and function. Were marriage partners chosen endogamously or exogamously? Did clans exist in some form, with or without totemism, and did they encourage regular marriage exchange relations through cross, or parallel, cousin marriage? How did such social structuring relate to intra- and interband solidarity and co-operation? Occasional specific references, as to mother-in-law avoidance by Baegert,[47] or to foods that were taboo to certain individuals or classes of individuals by Hostell[48] or Consag,[49] can provide clues; so may the marriage registers among the Libros de Misiones, with the suffix patterns in personal names and the identification of the specific home rancherías of spouses. The ethnographic ore in the documents is far from being mined out for data concerning native social structure.

Religious Practices: No subject interested the missionaries more than the religious views of the Indians with whom they worked, and on no subject are their accounts and interpretations more suspect. It is hard enough for the most skilled, sensitive, and open-minded modern ethnographer to come to understand what an alien people really believes in a religious and metaphysical sense, and missionaries professionally are not open-minded. Folk tales and other texts in a well understood native language would help, but neither native texts nor an appropriate knowledge of any native language is available from Baja California. We do have a few circumstantial accounts, largely from diaries of explorations, of particular ceremonies and the paraphernalia associated with them. Accounts of the actual behavior of shamans, both at curing rites and in public functions, also can be identified. Some understanding can be gained of how the shamans as a class of specialists, and the ceremonies themselves, functioned in sustaining the social organization at the ranchería and inter-ranchería levels. This organization has its ecological and subsistence implications as well.

Culture Element Distribution and Survival: The age-area or geographic method is still perhaps unsurpassed as a means of reconstructing the history of nonliterate peoples. Basically it postulates that there have been centers of cultural innovation. These may have shifted through time but were likely to be in rather favorable localities at crossroads where intercultural contacts were likely. A new culture trait or pattern would spread outward, by migration or diffusion, from its place of origin. Often it would be followed by a new pattern which functionally had to displace the first. The outlying areas then would tend to retain the oldest patterns. Some aspects of culture tend to diffuse and displace each other more readily than others, so an isolated *cul de sac* such as the Baja California Peninsula may have kept certain practices that had been abandoned in most of the New World thousands of years before–some may have come with the first migrants from Asia. Conversely, of course, there is the possibility of cultural elaborations being lost by a people living in an impoverished environment. I shall merely mention a few examples of such ancient survivals in Baja California which have been identified from the documents, in some cases supported by archeology.

The story on the atlatl, mentioned above, is clear. It survived barely into historic times in the far south of the peninsula. There, as it had been earlier in regions to the north, it was being displaced by the more efficient (though perhaps only slightly so) bow and arrow during the early seventeenth century.

The use of capes made of human hair by the shamans on ceremonial occasions is widely reported from the central part of the peninsula, and ethnographically even among the Kiliwa,[50] though in no more northerly tribe. These were highly sacred and important objects which the missionaries went out of their way to destroy. Though not fully documented, we can speculate that such capes were once widespread but that they had to be given up because of the spread of the idea that if a shaman got hold of some bit of your body he could work you great harm by magic. This idea was only beginning to reach Baja California.

From Consag's 1746 trip up the gulf we have clear reference to the domesticated dog first appearing at Bahía San Luis Gonzaga.[51] This oldest of man's domesticated animals was evidently just beginning to spread down the peninsula.

The use of the humpbacked rock scrapers, which are extremely common archeologically in the center and north of the peninsula, is clearly described in the documents. They were used to plane the flat boards or tablets that were of great import in religious ceremonies.[52] Such humpbacked scrapers are widely distributed in old and very old archeological sites in the Western United States, for example at the Tank Site in Topanga Canyon.[53] Here is an explanation of the specific use for this mysterious but typologically clearly identifiable artifact.

The list is not complete, and problems of culture complexes that seem peculiar to Baja California remain. Where archeological interpretation can be definite we may hope for explanations from that source. In other instances a documented report of how an artifact was actually used is needed. Finally, some customs of great interest leave no physical record. I shall close by alluding to the mysterious *maroma,* reported solely from Baja California in the area north of San Ignacio.[54] This is the practice of tying a bit of meat to a string, swallowing it, then extracting it and passing it on to your neighbor to treat in the same fashion until the meat is digested enough to fall apart. The custom clearly had strong implications in terms of social solidarity. I doubt that it is an invention of the Northern Cochimí. More likely it is a survival of an ancient and widespread social practice which with only moderate semantic stretching can be called companionate.

NOTES

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3. William C. Massey, "Brief Report on Archaeological Investigations in Baja California," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology,* III (Winter, 1947), 344-359.

4. Brigham A. Arnold, "Late Pleistocene and Recent Changes in Land Forms, Climate, and Archaeology in Central Baja California," *University of California Publications in Geography*, X (1957), 201-317.

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8. W J McGee, "The Seri Indians," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Annual Report*, 1895-1896, No. 17 (Washington, 1898).

9. Alfred L. Kroeber, "The Seri," *Southwest Museum Papers*, 6 (Los Angeles, 1931).

10. Johann Jakob Baegert, *Observations in Lower California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1952), pp. 72, 86.

11. Fernando Ocaranza, *Crónicas y relaciones del Occidente de México*, Volume V of Biblioteca Histórica Mexicana de Obras Inéditas (Mexico City, 1937), I 113-123.

12. Miguel Venegas (and Andrés Marcos Burriel), *Noticia de la California y de su Conquista temporal y espiritual hasta el tiempo presente. Sacada de la historia manuscrita, formada en México año de 1739 por el Padre Miguel Venegas de la Compañía de Jesús; y de otras Noticias y Relaciones antiguas y modernas* (Madrid, 1757).

13. The full title of the early English edition is informative as to the work's content. Miguel Venegas, *A Natural and Civil History of California: containing an accurate description of that country, its soil, mountains, harbours, lakes, rivers and seas; its animals, vegetables, minerals and famous fishery for pearls. The customs of the inhabitants, their religion, government and manner of living before their conversion to the Christian religion by the missionary Jesuits. Together with accounts of the several voyages and attempts made for settling California and taking actual surveys of that country, its gulf, and coast of the South-sea. Illustrated with copper plates and an accurate map of the country and the adjacent seas. Tr. from the original Spanish of Miguel Venegas, a Mexican Jesuit, published at Madrid, 1758* (2 vols.; London, 1759).

14. 3 vols.; Mexico City, Editorial Layac, 1943. Spellings are modernized, but the text has been changed only minimally.

15. Francisco Javier Clavigero, *The History of* [*Lower*] *California*, translated by Sara E. Lake and A. A. Gray (Stanford, 1937).

16. The Translators' Introduction to the recent American edition contains a biographical sketch of the author Johann Jakob Baegert, *Observations in Lower California*, translated by M. M. Brandenburg and Carl L. Baumann (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1952), pp. xi-xx.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Juan Jacobo Baegert, *Noticias de la Península Americana de California,* translated by Pedro R. Hendrichs (Mexico City, Porrúa, 1942).

19. Luis Sales, O.P., *Observations on California 1772-1790,* translated and edited by Charles N. Rudkin (Los Angeles, Glen Dawson, 1956). The foreword, pp. ix-xiii, provides a brief biography of Father Sales, and offers a tentative explanation for the extreme rarity of the original edition.

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27. Henry R. Wagner, *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to 1800* (2 vols.; Berkeley, 1937), I, 41-52.

28. Juan de Torquemada, *Veinte i un Libros Rituales i Monarquia indiana* (3 vols.; Madrid, 1724), I, 700-21.

29. William C. Massey, "The Survival of the Dart-Thrower on the Peninsula of Baja California," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology,* XVII (Spring, 1961), 81-93.

30. *Ibid,* XVII, 86-91; Massey, "Brief Report on Archaeological Investigations," *SWJA,* III, 349.

31. Joseph Stöcklein, *Das Neuen Welt-Botts. Allerhand so Lehr als Geistreiche Brief. Schrifften und Reis-Beschreibung, Welche von denen Misionariis de Gesellschaft Jesu aus Beyden Indien und Anderen über Meer Gelegenen Ländern* . . . (Augsburg and Graz, 1726-1763). Published in 38 fascicles which were grouped and bound in volumes at the discretion of their purchasers.

32. Huntington Library, Manuscript No. 4097.

33. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, MSS, *Misiones,* XXII, 182-89.

34. *Noticia de la California,* III.

35. José de Ortega (and Juan Antonio Balthasar), *Apostólicos Afanes de la Compañía de Jesús: Escritos por un padre de la misma sagrada religión de su*

provincia de México (Barcelona, 1754). A recent edition exists: Mexico City, Alvarez y Alvarez, 1944). A less than satisfactory English translation of both the 1746 and 1751 diaries is in M. D. Krmpotic, *Life and Works of the Reverend Ferdinand Konscak, S.J.* (Boston, 1923).

36. Personal communication from Mr. Peter Gerhard of Tepoztlán, Mexico.

37. Bancroft Library MSS, California Transcripts, November 4, 1773. (This collection of copies of manuscripts from various sources is filed by the earliest date on each manuscript.)

38. Bancroft Library MSS, California Transcripts, December 9, 1796.

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41. Massey, "Tribes and Languages of Baja California," *SWJA*, V, 302-5.

42. Baegert, *Observations in Lower California*, pp. 94-104.

43. Massey, "Tribes and Languages of Baja California," SWJA, V, 275-87.

44. Aschmann, "The Central Desert of Baja California," *Ibero-Americana*, 42:58-132, 177-80.

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47. Baegert, *Observations in Lower California*, p. 88.

48. Stöcklein, *Das Neuen Welt-Botts*, letter 763.

49. Huntington Manuscript No. 1095, p. 3.

50. Peveril Meigs, "The Kiliwa Indians of Lower California," *Ibero-Americana*, 15 (Berkeley, 1939), 50,59.

51. Krmpotic, *Life of Konscak*, p. 69.

52. Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, p. 404.

53. Arnold, "Late Pleistocene . . . in Central Baja California," *UCPG*, X, 253-61, 271-2; A. E. Treganza and C. G. Malamud, "The Topanga Culture: First Season's Excavation at the Tank Site, 1947," *University of California Publications, Anthropological Records*, XII (1950).

54. O'Crouley, "Idea compendiosa" MS, pp. 69-70. The custom is also reported by many other authorities who wrote after 1740 when missionary activity was occurring north of San Ignacio: Baegert, Clavigero, Sales, Consag, Longinos Martínez, but not by Venegas.

California, Why We Come; Myth or Reality

By Doyce B. Nunis, Jr.

It has been said that California is not so much a place as it is a state of mind.* Certainly, California has bred its share of the myths and legends that shadow Western American history; but myth and legend have played a part in attracting immigrants. John Steinbeck's tragic Grampa Joad in *Grapes of Wrath* honestly believed that all he had to do when he reached Southern California was to sit in the sun under an orange tree waiting for the ripe fruit to fall into his lap. What he did not see in his wishful dream was the "no trespassing" sign posted on the border of the orange groves: myth had blurred his vision.[1]

California myth-making was launched by Garci Ordoñez de Montalvo in his *Adventures of Esplandían*, published in Seville in the first decade of the sixteenth century. It contains a romantic and fictional account of the "island" of California—a paradise which was "very near the location of the Garden of Eden." Undoubtedly, some Spanish explorers who sailed along the Pacific Coast were familiar with this book as early as 1533, for it would appear that Fortún Jiménez may have dubbed the newly discovered land mass across the Sea of Cortés, "California," now geographically labeled Lower California.[2]

Henry Nash Smith in his *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* has dealt with the theme of Western myth-making in a brilliant study. But that theme has not been applied to California nor to the influence myths have had on the state's phenomenal growth. A

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large body of literature on that subject remains to be explored by the historian.

The available literature falls into a number of categories: travelers' accounts as found in books and newspapers; governmental documents and reports; fiction; promotional literature, including booster narratives as well as business and local propaganda; and entertainment, embracing radio, television, movies, music, and drama. All of these sources have played a part, large and small, in attracting immigrants to California.

Travelers' accounts, written by both American and foreign visitors, have played a significant role in populating the state. Other than the Wagner-Camp *Plains and the Rockies* (which exhaustively treats travel literature up to 1865), no comprehensive bibliography is presently available for such narratives, comparable, for example, to the three-volume work of Thomas D. Clark on the South, or Robert R. Hubach's limited *Early Midwest Travel Narratives*. Such a work is sorely needed.

Another void which needs to be filled is the role of the foreigner, not only as reflected in travel literature, but also his role in economic investment and promotional schemes for California. Robert G. Athearn's *Westward the Briton*, which details the Far West, 1865-1900, as seen by British sportsmen and capitalists, ranchers and homesteaders, is a pioneer study which should be supported by complementary work. W. Turrentine Jackson and Clark C. Spence have measured the role and influence of Scottish and English capital in mining, but much remains to be done in that theater of economic investigation.[3] Nor should one neglect foreign immigrant groups. David Bjork's treatment of Norwegians, Frederick G. Bohme's study of Italians, and S. W. Kung's recent book, *The Chinese in America*, as well as Gunther Barth's study, indicate a frontier which badly needs greater penetration and exploration.[4]

California's growth owes much to travelers' published narratives, both foreign and domestic. Reading such books, one is struck by the overwhelmingly favorable appraisals. Indeed, many of them make a contemporary Californian blush with pride in appreciation of their prophecy. Thomas J. Farnham, writing in *Life and Adventures in California* (1841), sonorously observed:

> California is a wilderness of groves and lawns, broken by deep and rich ravines, separated from each other by broad and wild wastes. Along the ocean

> is a world of vegetable beauty; on the sides of the mountains are the mightiest trees of the earth; on the heights are the eternal snows, lighted by volcanic fires. ... It may be confidently asserted that no country in the world possesses so fine a climate coupled with so productive a soil, as the sea board portion of the Californias, including the territories of the Bay of San Francisco and the Rivers San Joaquin and Sacramento. But its miserable people live unconscious of these things. In their garden grow the apple, the pear, the olive, fig and orange, the Irish and sweet potato, yam and plantain most luxuriantly, side by side; and yet they sleep, and smoke and hum some tune of Castilian laziness, while surrounding Nature is thus inviting them to the noblest and richest rewards of honorable toil.[5]

Jonathan J. Warner was equally explicit in his praise. In a lecture delivered in several eastern cities in the fall, 1840, he expostulated, "Upper California is capable of supporting a population of 21 millions, and from its geographical position, it possesses very great advantages. . . ."[6]

Accounts by non-Americans could equally be quoted. Suffice it to note that the trend was started quite early: a Frenchman, Lapérouse's *Voyage . . . autour de monde* (Paris, 1797); a German, Otto von Kotzebue's 1815-1818 travels, which were published in 1821 in Russian, German, English, and in 1822 in Dutch and Austrian editions, followed in 1828 with his travels, 1823-1826; and an Englishman, Frederick W. Beechey's *Narrative* in 1831, could be cited along with Spanish, Italian, and several Belgian books.

Nor should one neglect books written by Americans praising the virtues of the American West which saw publication abroad. Examples which come quickly to mind are Washington Irving's *A Tour of the Prairies* (1835), *Astoria* (1836) and *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville* (1837), especially the latter, which received almost simultaneous publication in London and Paris (in English). An even more remarkable record was established by Edward Bryant's *What I Saw in California* (1848): six American, one English, two French editions within two years of its American publication! And if attention is given American books published abroad, what about foreign books published in America? No one has yet examined this publication interaction in the light of Western growth.[7]

Books by American travelers, recording the attractions of California, grew unabated in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A random sampling of titles indicates the authors' thought and objective: *Life in*

California; El Dorado; California: The Wonder of the Age; California: In-Doors and Out; Crusoe's Island; California: For Health, Pleasure, and Residence; Semi-Tropical California; Los Angeles: Pen Pictures from the Garden of the World; Our Italy; The Mediterranean Shores of America; Los Angeles, A Flower in the Golden Land (published in German in Prague); *California, The Wonderful; On Sunset Highways; In Search of Climate; The West Is Still Wild; Harbor in the Sun; My San Francisco; San Francisco Is Your Home; This Is San Francisco; How to Retire in California*, and *The California I Love*. But this list does not indicate the work of national authors—for example, John Gunther's *Inside USA*—nor the expertise of Remi Nadeau, Herb Caen, and Ed Ainsworth.

But in the random sampling, four things are obvious: for California, the attractive qualities—and would this not apply to much of the West? —were economic opportunity, climate, health, and romantic myth. The question arises: to what degree were these four elements responsible for attracting population to California?

The vision of unlimited economic opportunity, be it from the resident or the traveler's view, has yet to be fully measured, as does the factor of climate—so essential today in bringing people in retirement to California. Likewise the historical assaying of the climate factor remains yet to be comprehensively undertaken. John E. Baur in his book, *Health Seekers in Southern California*, has authored a pioneer study on this subject. Richard Henry Dana, Jr., testified that California was "blessed with a climate, than which there can be no better in the world; free from all manner of diseases, whether epidemic or endemic. . ." Antoine Robidoux early bore witness to California as a health paradise:

> There never was but one man in California who had the chills. He was from Missouri and carried the disease in his system. It was such a curiosity to see a man shake with the chills that the people of Monterey went eighteen miles into the country to see him.

And the health legend continues to be an attractive lure. In 1953, John Crow wrote in his book, *California as a Place to Live*:

> If you should join the caravan and come to California's garden of the sun to visit or to live, it will not be long before you feel all rush and tensions disappear as you relax in the mild sweet air of outdoor living throughout the year. And

> you will know that there is no better place on earth to live . . . than the Golden State.

And he could dismiss the smog problem by writing, " 'Smog' is not distinctive in Los Angeles, for actually there is far less here than in nearly any city in the country." Margaret Collier Graham was even more specific: "I have lived in California," she writes, "and have in consequence no desire to go to heaven."

And population continues to increase; health and climate continue to attract. And what of the present American phenomena of retirement made possible by Social Security, improved industry-labor union aged plans, military and public retirement benefits? And what effect is a retirement population having on California?

Bibliographically, one can assess published literature if it is in book form, but what of newspapers? Here is a veritable ocean of only partially fathomed material. It was the custom of many Western immigrants to write letters "back East" to their families or friends. Many of these letters were published in local papers, and by their comments aided in attracting others to move. Yet, little has been done to explore this untapped reservoir. Equally important, what of the foreign travelers' reports which found their way into their native newspapers? This is a source which has yet to be tapped, and it may well prove as important in attracting the non-American immigrant westward as it has been in the American migrant.

Yet, with all this reservoir of positive endorsement, if one is to deal effectively with California myth and reality, one must not neglect the debunkers. Thomas J. Farnham was among the first to voice critical concern when he returned East from his 1839 trip to Oregon and California. The flight of residents was an economic matter. Missouri newspapers, no doubt influenced by the negative view of local merchants, could state in 1841, on the occasion of the first planned overland emigration to the Pacific slope, "fellow citizens, if you wish to help the country to which you owe your birth . . . stay at home."[8]

Hinton Helper in his *Land of Gold* (1855) was among the first book-debunkers. He noted, "The truth is, California has been much over-rated and much overdone. . . . Besides, California is especially infested with vermin. Fleas, ants, and all sorts of creeping things are as ubiquitous as those that tormented Pharaoh and his people, and quite as annoying. No house is free from them." Again, one could multiply this view—and what more contemporary sources than Aldous Huxley's *After Many a Summer Dies the Swan*; Evelyn Waugh's *The Loved One*; Budd Schulberg's *What Makes Sammy Run*; or Louis Adamic's *Laughing in the Jungle*—granted fictional works but with the ring of truth. Nor should one forget, in the California case, the stigma of smog, contrary to Crow's optimism, made famous by Bob Hope's quips on television.

It would appear, however, that the negative appraisals have not deterred the westward flow of population. Until the negative factors have been weighed—traffic congestion, air pollution, slum blight, real estate prices, taxes, water, and other California urban problems—who can say what has been the force on immigration by critical or negative accounts? Were such negative narratives a deterrent in the past? The present record of population growth dramatically demonstrates the opposite!

Nor should one overlook the influence of "anti-urbanism" rooted in the nineteenth-century American thought. Thomas Jefferson wrote with acid fervor, "The mobs of great cities add just so to the support of pure government, as sores do to the strength of the human body." Lewis Mumford's *The City in History* and the recent work by Morton and Lucia White, *The Intellectual versus the City: From Thomas Jefferson to Frank Lloyd Wright*, dissect this theme with telling effect. But the question remains to be answered: what was the effect of "anti-urbanism" thought on attracting people to California?

The legacy of trail accounts in attracting immigrants to California in another facet which stands in need of examination. One should include in this subcategory not only nineteenth-century "trail guides," but the more modern WPA guides and related guide-literature which multiplies on the bookstore tables with alarming regularity, not to mention the unstinting efforts of travel agencies and "glamorous" packaged tours. What is needed in this instance is a critical evaluation of myth and reality.

Nor should the astute scholar neglect newspaper and periodical publicity. Often one is led to expect more than truth would support. And such vacation accounts are exaggerated, to put it mildly, more than facts warrant. Yet, this body of exaggerated literature reaps a harvest of

California tourists, and tourism may well lead to settlement at a near or future time for the impressed traveler—made more feasible by the mobility of the vacationist, thanks to modern transportation and California's superlative highways. And who can measure this "word-of-mouth" and "slide-evening-at-home" effect on others when the traveler returns? In substance, what has been the effect of tourist literature and tourism on this state's growth?

Nor should one neglect the illustrated West, be it in paintings, lithographs, or photography: as an illustration, John Muir's *Picturesque California* (1887-1888). Robert Taft's *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West, 1850-1900* is highly suggestive. But what of the role of illustrations in the twentieth century, as in the recent volume, *California, the Beautiful*? *Westways* is a first-rate example of the use illustrations play in contemporary periodical publications. What of the perennial favorite, *National Geographic*, or *Life Magazine's* six-part layout on the West a few years ago? Should not the movie and television travelogue and public slide lectures also be scrutinized? And what of the art of photography in public exhibits, for example the work of Edward Weston and Ansel Adams?

Government documents and reports have also played their part in California history. Explorers' official accounts, both foreign and domestic, are the more obvious illustration. Certainly, John C. Frémont's reports are an excellent case in point. But there is another important cache of reports which found their way into the hands of governments: these were written reports by the resident and casual traveler. An excellent example of this is found in Jonathan J. Warner's previously mentioned 1840 speech which was given in several eastern cities and forwarded to Washington, D.C.—it is a marvel of propaganda and prophecy.

But excluding exploration accounts, the internal government documents have been slighted. Read, for example, James K. Polk's 1848 message to Congress on the occasion of the official public announcement of the California gold discovery. In his address Polk observed:

> That we may more speedily and fully avail ourselves of the undeveloped wealth of these mines, it is deemed of vast importance that a branch of the Mint of the United States be authorized to be established . . . in California. . . . A branch mint of the United States at the great commercial depot on the west

> coast would convert into our own coin not only the gold derived from our rich mines, but also the bullion and the specie which our commerce may bring from the whole west coast of Central and South America.

Polk further noted:

> As it is ascertained that mines of gold, silver, copper, and quicksilver exist in New Mexico and California, and that nearly all the lands where they are found belong to the United States, it is deemed important to the public interest that provision be made for a geological and mineralogical examination of these regions.

These two quotations illustrate the fact that the federal government almost immediately began to play a role in California's growth by looking to the economic development of the region—and such development helped to attract population.

And what better source for California history than the decennial census? Here is an important source for the state's social and urban history. For who came West? The Reverend Walter Colton could write in an 1849 letter published in a Philadelphia newspaper: "The farmers have thrown aside their plows, the lawyers their briefs, the doctors their pills, the priests their prayer books, and all are now digging gold." Census reports, perhaps better than any other government document, reflect who came West; and out of a study of that source, one could detect patterns of emigration as well as occupation—both essential in structuring a balanced treatment of California history.

As Richard Wade has pointed out in an all too brief bibliographical essay in his book, *The Urban Frontier*, city, county, and state records are an obvious historical source, but should not one include the rôle of the federal government? To underscore that point, think of the federal government's rôle in foreign immigration and water development, both important factors in the West, especially in California. Even the establishment of federal military forts exercised an influence in providing law enforcement and protection, not to mention needs for local supply of materiel—and around many of these military forts, cities were spawned, for such installations provided protection and livelihood. What of the continuing federal military role in national defense and industry? What of federal aid to transportation, highway construction, education, recreation, urban renewal?

Promotional literature, including booster narratives as well as business and local propaganda, is without question a vast storehouse for documenting California history. The extent of promotional literature is not yet fully inventoried. Steps in that direction have been made in a variety of imprint lists, local and regional bibliographies. For California, Greenwood's recent *California Imprints*; the bibliographies of Cowan, Wagner, and others; and the *California Local History Bibliography* (now under revision) contain a wealth of unexplored material. Many other Western states have comparable inventories, but much remains to be done. Here is an area where the librarian can be of immeasurable assistance. The need is great. It appears that more attention seems to be paid to imprint inventories rather than local or regional history bibliographies. In the latter field some areas are totally void of available guides.

One should perhaps include in promotional literature local and regional serial publications. In respect to California such magazines as *Hutchings' California Magazine*, *The Golden Era*, *Pacific Monthly*, *Land of Sunshine*, *Out West*, *Touring Topics* (now *Westways*) come readily to mind. But what of current publications? Presently, there is published what can only be called "booster magazines" in San Diego, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. Such publications have much to offer, as do, quite obviously, local newspapers. Other serious periodical publications such as *Frontier*, *Arts and Architecture*, and local literary and historical journals should not be neglected. Slick magazines, perhaps, should also be considered.

Bibliographically, fiction has something to offer in relating the history of California. One of the earliest American Far West fictional accounts, *Kit Carson, The Prince of the Gold Hunters; or, The Adventures of the Sacramento* (1849), suggests the point. Until recently, fiction, whether American or foreign, dealing with the American West has underscored the romantic attractions of the West–fiction has tended to glamorize rather than criticise. The writings of Mark Twain, Harry Leon Wilson, Mary Austin, Charles Lummis, Joaquin Miller, Edwin Markham, to name a few American writers, and foreign writers, best typified by Alexander Dumas, Henryk Sienkiewicz, Robert Louis Stevenson, Alfred Noyes, Jules Verne, and Sidney Burckell, are cases in point.[9]

However, more contemporary fiction has been almost equally split between praise and criticism of California. And in some fictional writers there is a dichotomy, as for example in John Steinbeck. But the novel set in local or regional Western scenes may well deserve the attention of the historian. Perhaps this suggestion is a bit far-fetched, but until there is a more complete inventory of fiction set in a Western American locale and until that body of fiction has been plowed by the historian, one can at least surmise that here is perhaps an untapped reservoir that has something of historical significance, if for no other reason than to measure descriptions of the scene against the documented record. The "dime novel" may have played a positive role in attracting settlers and increasing population, particularly if the novel or story was steeped in a romantic and glamorous setting. The work of Franklin Walker on the San Francisco and on the Southern California literary scene has much to offer. Nor should one overlook the enormous body of detective fiction. But one should also be acutely aware of the negative influence critical fiction can have, as in the writings of Aldous Huxley, Louis Adamic, and others.

In raising the field of entertainment as a source for California history the justification is less certain; how uncertain remains to be seen. Consider, for instance, radio programs. "One Man's Family," long a soap-opera favorite prior to World War II, had as part of its locale San Francisco. The listener was treated to a constant flow of reports on the beautiful and wondrous living available in the Bay region. The same holds true for the redoubtable "Sam Spade." And what of the long-running "Hollywood Hotel" and "Lux Radio Theatre" programs?

These radio sources may be taken lightly, but how lightly can the local and regional radio programs be taken that are serious in content? The essential point in respect to the role of radio in attracting people westward is that many locally reported events are broadcast nationally when they are newsworthy. What has been stated about radio programs applies to television—perhaps more so. Television news, even if produced by a local station, may make the national network if it has general news appeal.

Fictionalized television shows also deserve more than passing notice. The enormous success of "Have Gun, Will Travel" and "Maverick," to mention but two, are cases in point. Even more incredulous is the program, "The Beverly Hillbillies," a smash success for the past two video seasons. A new program that made its debut in the fall of 1963, "The Adventures of Jaimie McPheeters," suggests what can be done with a more serious attention to historical detail—but even here California myths and legends are interwoven. Nor should one overlook the "realistic" television shows such as law enforcement programs which have had as their locals San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego.

The documentary film, obviously, be it a movie or a television program (and what of newsfilms?), has more to offer than do photographic illustrations in appealing to people, for the combination of oral and visual communication is powerful. But what of cinema, both fictional and historical films, especially the "Western"? William S. Hart, in 1916, observed that the "Western" film

> "means the very essence of national life. I am referring now to the later frontier—the frontier of the range and the mining camp, with all its youthful follies and heartbreaks and braveries that we know and love best. It is but a generation or so since virtually all this country was frontier. Consequently its spirit is bound up in American citizenship.[10]

This appeal of the frontier has continually been expressed in "Western" films ever since.[11] Currently one of the great national attractions is "How the West Was Won." The key question: has the cinema played a part in luring people to California—especially Southern California? If one relies on the movie pulp magazines, the answer would be a ringing yes.

Music and drama deserve perhaps more than slender consideration. "Booster songs," such as "Route 66," "I'll Make San Fernando Valley My Home," "When the Swallows Come Back to Capistrano," "California Here I Come," "I Left My Love in Avalon," and the recent popular hit, "I Left My Heart in San Francisco," suggest some possibility. But what of the vast number of trail, mining, and "Western country" songs? Granted, such songs are not history per se, but did such songs have an influence on attracting migrants West—just as did travelers' accounts? Do not songs fall into the category of promotional literature?[12] If one is dealing with the elements which attract people, even music should be worth more than some passing comment; for the extent of picturing California in song was far-ranging, be it in minstrel shows played up and down the Ohio-Mississippi run, or "Wild West" shows which played across the land and on the European continent, or in the heyday of vaudeville.[13]

The same holds true for drama. As early as January 10, 1849, a play by an unknown author, "A Trip to the California Gold Mines: the story of the exciting adventures of an Argonaut's trek to California," was presented at the Arch Street Theater in Philadelphia. The same city saw two additional plays a decade later, an anonymous drama of Sacramento and the resourceful and fearless frontier woman, "A Live Woman in the Mines; or, Pike County Ahead"; and a play by Joseph Nunes, "Fast Folks; or, Early Days of California." Joaquin Miller's "Forty-Nine," a tale of a pioneer who stuck with the land after flood and drought, and finally struck gold, was produced at Haverly's Theater in New York in 1881. Three years before, Bartley Campbell's play, "My Partner," the story of a fallen heroine who later achieved a happy marriage in spite of her early transgressions, found that "it is impossible for men to think bad with these glorious monuments of nature, these green groves of God, looking down on them" in California.

David Belasco's redoubtable play, "The Girl of the Golden West," one of the ancestors of the modern "Western" movie and television program, was a paragon expounding the virtues of the West, and even Puccini could not resist that story. Even Robert Sherwood's bitter play, "The Petrified Forest," had one of the central characters, Jason, on his way to California to open an auto court so he could "just live off the suckers," and Allan heading in the same direction to get away from his past, a nagging wife, and poor health.

William Saroyan has written several plays with California settings. In "The Bicycle Rider of Beverly Hills," he bluntly states: "In the most commonplace, tiresome, ridiculous, malicious, coarse, crude, or even crooked people or events, I had to seek out rare things, and I did so. . . . At the same time certain failures seemed to me the greatest men in town." California was the place and the answer. This same theme is stated forcefully in "Hello Out There." The dialogue reads:

> *Young Man.* [*Swiftly, desperately.*] Listen, if I'm not here when you come back, how do you know I haven't gotten away? Now, do what I tell you. I'll meet you in Frisco. I've got a couple of dollars in my other shoe. I'll see you in San Francisco.

The Girl. [*With wonder.*] San Francisco?

Young Man. That's right—San Francisco. That's where you and me belong.

The Girl. I've always wanted to go to *some* place like San Francisco—but how could I go alone?

Young Man. Well, you're not alone any more, see?

The Girl. Tell me a little what it's like.

Young Man. [*Very swiftly, almost impatiently at first, but gradually slower and with remembrance, smiling, and the Girl moving closer to him as he speaks.*] Well, it's on the Pacific to begin with—ocean water all around. Cool fog and sea-gulls. Ships from all over the world. It's got seven hills. The little streets go up and down, around and all over. Every night the fog-horns bawl. But they won't be bawling for you and me.

The Girl. What else?

Young Man. That's about all, I guess.

The Girl. Are people different in San Francisco?

Young Man. People are the same everywhere. They're different only when they love somebody. That's the only thing that makes 'em different. More people in Frisco love somebody, that's all.

More recently "The Pleasure of His Company," by Samuel Taylor and Cornelia Otis Skinner, with a San Francisco locale, continued the tradition of painting California as a place of exciting, glamorous living, while "I Remember Mama" was nostalgically romantic. "The Most Happy Fella" and "Flower Drum Song" are too current to cite as additional attractive possibilities. Drama then raises the question: to what degree has it played a part in publicizing California? Indeed, has it played any part at all?

In dealing with the history of California, the historian should not look exclusively at the more obvious bibliographic sources to tell that history, but he should also give attention to those sources which have created and which continue to perpetuate the image of California. For in radio, movies, television, music, and drama, we find a continuation of myth and reality—a force which has to be reckoned with in studying the history of California and, indeed, of the American West.

NOTES

1. For a discussion of Steinbeck's American novels "as records of social history," see Walter Rundell, Jr., "Steinbeck's Image of the West," *The American West*, I (Spring 1964), 4-17, 79.

2. For a discussion of the controversy over the naming of California, see Donald C. Cutter, "Sources of the Name 'California'," *Arizona and the West,* III (Autumn 1961), 233-243.

3. Jackson has also written on British and Scottish cattle investments in *When Grass Was King* (Boulder, Colo., 1956), pp. 135-321.

4. Barth's study, "Chinese Sojourners in the West: The Coming," *Southern California Quarterly,* XLVI, (March 1964), 55-68, has been supplemented by his book on the subject, *Bitter Strength* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965).

5. Robert G. Cleland, *A History of California: The American Period* (New York, 1926), pp. 91-107, has an intriguing chapter entitled, "Advertising and Immigration," which quotes such sources as Farnham's statement.

6. "California and Oregon: A Speech," *Southern California Quarterly,* XLV (December 1963), 349. This speech was reprinted in the *Colonial Magazine,* V (June 1841), 229-236, published in London, England. The full text is more conveniently found in the previously cited magazine, pp. 340-353.

7. For example, J. J. Warner in his 1840 lecture continually quotes passages from Alexander Forbes, *California* (London, 1839), as a major source for his argument that California and Oregon should be acquired by the United States.

8. *The Western Atlas, and Saturday Evening Gazette,* March 6, 1841. Dale L. Morgan, *The Mormons and the Far West* [Newspaper Transcripts], Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. For a contrary view extolling California's virtues, see the same paper, May 1, 1841.

9. Lyle Wright, *American Fiction* (2 vols. to date, San Marino, Calif., 1948, 1956), lists other fictional titles up through 1875. He is presently engaged in preparing a third volume in this bibliography. Alice K. Melcon has compiled a useful selective bibliography, *California in Fiction* (Berkeley, 1961).

Poetry, dealing with California and the American West, may well deserve additional consideration. From Walt Whitman to Robinson Jeffers, the American West has been a worthy subject of American poets. Contemporary poets, such as Kenneth Rexroth, have not slighted the region. A study of the influence of this literary medium might well prove fruitful, though possibly of limited appeal and tentative value.

10. The noted French film critic, André Bazin, commented:

> The history of cinema has known but one other cinema, and this is also historical cinema.... As with the conquest of the [American] West, so the Soviet Revolution is a compound of historical events marking the birth of an order and of a civilization. One and the other have given birth to the myths necessary to a confirmation of history; both were also obliged to rediscover the morale, rediscover at their living source, before their mixing or their pollution, the principles of the law which put order in the chaos, will separate the sky from the earth. But it is possible that the cinema was the only language capable not only of expressing this, but above all of giving it the true aesthetic dimension. Without the cinema, the conquest of the [American] West would have made of the "West-

ern stories" but one minor literature; and it is not with its painting nor with its best novels that Soviet art has given the world the image of its greatness. That is why cinema is already the specific art of epic.

Quoted in George N. Fenin and William K. Everson, *The Western from Silents to Cinerama* (New York, 1962), p. 8. Hart's comment is found opposite p. 1.

11. The Library of Congress and the Museum of Modern Art, New York, are current film depositories. Perhaps the newly established Hollywood Motion Picture Museum will consider a like collection as a major endeavor worthy of its attention.

12. As illustrations, the recent musical, "My L.A.," and the clever, intimate reviews by Billy Barnes in Los Angeles, both of which were sent to Broadway.

13. Serious music would include Puccini's opera, "The Girl of the Golden West," Frederick Grofé's perennial favorite, "Grand Canyon Suite," and Aaron Copland's "Rodeo" and "Billy the Kid."

One could also raise the question of the contribution of dance. Agnes de Mille's "Rodeo" and her choreography for "Oklahoma," along with the pioneer effort of Eugene Loring in "Billy the Kid," are first-rate examples.

Perhaps the influence of these more "classical" fields of entertainment are negligible, but a study of them might well prove to be an interesting commentary on the cultural American scene. For a stimulating essay on this subject, see Walter Rundell, Jr., "The West as an Operatic Setting," pp. 49-61, in *Probing the American West* (Santa Fe, 1962), edited by K. Ross Toole, et al.

A Study of Graduate Research in California History in California Colleges and Universities

(continued)

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MASTER'S THESES

16.110 Hardeman, Nicholas. *The Historical Background of the Deepwater Port at Stockton, California, 1850-1927.* 1950.
A study of geographical and historical settings of the struggle for governmental support of the plan for a ship canal, 1870-1924; with discussion of economic obstacles and advantages of port operations since 1927. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, city), nonpublic (organization); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.111 Harris, Mary. *John Rowland and William Workman, Pioneers of Southern California.* 1932.
An account of the overland arrival of Workman and Rowland in 1841, of the land grants and ranchos at La Puente and San Gabriel, of their participation in the conquest of California, etc. Sources: documents—government (provincial, federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.112 Hatch, Flora. *The Russian Advance into California.* 1922.
Russian exploration, contacts with Californians, plans for acquisition, and establishment of Fort Ross, 1743-1841. Sources: periodicals, secondary.

16.113 Haueter, Lowell. *Westwood, California: the Life and Death of a Lumbertown.* 1956.
The boom and decline of a lumber company mill town located in the Sierra Nevada Range, sixty miles southeast of Mt. Lassen, 1913-1956. Sources: documents – government (city), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

16.114 Hayes, Mary Agnes, Sister. *A History of Griffith Park in Los Angeles.* 1951.

From Rancho Los Feliz in 1796 to city park in 1935, with emphasis on: land problems; water problems; ownership by Griffith J. Griffith; park administration; etc. Sources: documents – government (federal, state, county, city); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.115 Haynor, Genevieve. *The History of Gold Dredging in California, 1848-1940.* 1941.
Contents: early mines; miners; mining methods; costs of mining; commercial operation of mines; legislation; effects of the 1930's depression, and revival in 1933; etc. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.116 Hebb, Douglas. *The Woman Movement in the California State Grange, 1873-1880.* 1950.
A study of the pattern of the movement–suffrage, temperance, and dress reforms; community service; etc. Sources: documents–government (federal, state), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

16.117 Heffernan, William. *Edward M. Kern, Artist and Explorer.* 1951.
Kern made the first accurate account of the route from the Humboldt River to Carson Lake, to Owens Lake, and to the Kern River; and a record of Kern's stay at Sutter's Fort based on Kern's diary. Sources: documents–government (federal); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.118 Henniker, Helen. *The Beginnings of Nativism in California, 1848-1852.* 1948.
A survey of social, economic, political, and legal attempts of exclusion and sentiment as manifested against the Mexicans and Chinese by the Americans. Sources: documents–government (state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.119 Hertzog, Dorothy. *Isaac Graham: California Pioneer.* 1942.
An account of Graham's activities, 1800 to 1863, as: overland trapper, ranchero in the Santa Cruz area, revolutionary, lumberman, owner of the first power driven sawmill, instigator of the Graham Affair of 1840, etc. Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.120 Hinrichsen, Kenneth. *Pioneers in Southern California Hydroelectric Waterpower: Chaffey and Baldwin.* 1949.
A study of the contributions of George Chaffey (first to combine hydroelectric power development with irrigation at Etiwanda), Cyrus Baldwin (promoter of the first hydroelectric installation for high voltage transmission and first president of Pomona College), and the creation and operations of the San Antonio Light Power Company, 1889-1891. Sources: documents–government (federal), nonpublic (business); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

16.121 Hinton, John. *Agitation in California for a Transcontinental Railroad, and the Development of Local Railroads, 1847-1863.* 1953.
Legal, social, economic, and political aspects of the agitation and activities in Sacramento, San Francisco, Marysville, Stockton, Stanislaus, Shasta, etc. Sources: documents—government (federal, state), nonpublic (business); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary.

16.122 Hohenthal, Helen. *A History of the Turlock District.* 1930.
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ment of civil settlements. Includes edited and unedited documents of: Father Lasuén, Hermenegildo Sal, Sergeant Pedro Amador, Diego de Borica, Pedro de Alberni, Felipe María Ortega, Macario Castro, Father Juan Mariner, Father Vicente de Santa María, Father Buenaventura Sitjar, Father Antonio Danti, Pedro Lisal, Father Esteban Tapis. Sources: documents–government (provincial); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

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A listing of 228 foreigners from Belgium, Canada, England, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Scotland, and the United States, with notes on how they came to California and whether they were trappers, hide and tallow traders and merchants, ranchers, farmers, etc. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary.

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The establishment of the foundation at San Jose, 1844-1892. Sources: documents – nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

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An account of Theodore Judah's plans, and the construction of the railroad over the Dutch Flat Wagon Road route over the Sierras, 1860 to 1870. Sources: documents–government (federal), nonpublic (business); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

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16.276 Wilson, Ione. *The I.W.W. in California, with Special Reference to Migratory Labor (1910-1913).* 1946.
A study of the attempts by the I.W.W. to organize farm workers, with emphasis on the Fresno free speech riots, and the Wheatland hop field

riot. Sources: documents – government (federal, state); periodicals; secondary.

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16.278 Woodruff, Jacqueline. *History of Benicia, 1846-1880.* 1946.
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Contents covered from about 1769 to 1850: Spanish exploration; American fur traders; land grants of rancho El Campo de los Franceses; settlement of Stockton; gold rush mining and companies; transportation by water and land to the coast and to the mines; general political, economic, and social growth of the area. Sources: documents–government (federal); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

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Emphasis is placed upon Spanish exploration, the Indians, and the founding of the presidio and mission. Sources: manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

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A study of the first military governor's administration. Sources: documents – government (federal); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary

16.282 Yerxa, Gertrude. *Gold Rushes Outside of California as Treated in the California Newspapers, 1858-1860.* 1931.
An evaluation of the reliability and validity of contemporary accounts of the Fraser River rush of 1858 to 1860, of the Pike's Peak rush of 1858 to 1859, and of the Gila River Rush of 1858 to 1859 in five San Francisco and one Sacramento newspapers.

NEW BOOKS

The Transportation Frontier: Trans-Mississippi West, 1865-1890. By Oscar Osburn Winther. (New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964. 224 pp. $4.50.) Reviewed by John Hawgood.

With this second volume in the series, the Billington Overland Stage, which started up last year at a rather sedate canter with Rodman Paul's *Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848-1880,* really gets into its stride and breaks into a gallop. Mr. Winther is a sober writer; nobody would think that he was going to a fire; but he covers an awful lot of ground in his 160 crowded pages of narrative (the rest is equally valuable critical apparatus), and he is not pedantic about starting only on January 1, 1865, and ending on December 31, 1890. Mr. Paul pulled down the curtain on the mining frontier (except for some brief references to Cripple Creek) almost as if it closed forever in 1880. Mr. Winther, though he does not try to cover the era of Tin Lizzie, does at least mention one Henry Ford on his last page, and he does give considerable, and merited, attention to the campaign for good roads sparked by the League of American Wheelmen. He even uncovers an unpublished Ph.D. thesis on the subject (*Bibliographical Notes,* p. 210)! This campaign—as the still proudly-borne motto of the Automobile Club of Southern California testifies—had to be carried well into the twentieth century before it bore adequate fruit. Even this reviewer can recollect a drive across a sea of mud which was the state of Nebraska in the spring of 1929, and having to keep on tire chains all the way down from Nebraska City to St. Joe—where the concrete began. For him these constitute precious links (when recollected in tranquillity) with the pioneering days on the Western frontier about which Mr. Winther writes—when Conestoga wagon succeeded pack-mule, when the great Concord stage coaches had their day, when the Pony Express flashed across history at five dollars a half ounce, when the wood-burning Iron Horse first bit its way across the Plains, the Rockies, and the Sierras, and the steamboats forced themselves up Western rivers as far as Fort Benton, Fort Gibson, Oregon City, Marysville, Yuma, and sometimes beyond. Steamboats on the Missouri even after 1865 played almost as big a part as they had on the Mississippi in the two generations before the Civil War. This moody and treacherous river was called "the harlot" (p. 78) by old riverboat men, and not without cause. Only when railroads had networked the West as adequately as they had previously covered the East, did the riverboat traffic there come to an end. In some places it even outlived the century. "As late as 1890 there was navigation of one kind and another on forty-five rivers of the Mississippi River system for a grand total of 16,090 miles" (p. 81). The "Diamond Jo" Steamship Line, operating "some of the most palatial passenger boats ever seen on the Mississippi River," and proudly advertising "Avoid the Discomforts of a Rail Trip" (between St. Paul and St. Louis), struggled on until the year 1911, when the Falls of St. Anthony knew it no more (p. 78). "Steamboats . . . while facilitating the exploitation of the trans-Mississippi West . . . accelerated the Frontier process," concludes Mr. Winther (p. 91).

The chapter (VI, pp. 74-91) on "Steamboats on a Vanishing Frontier" has been analyzed as typical of Mr. Winther's thorough and enlightening treatment of his theme. He is equally good on "Railroads, Stage Coaches, Indians, Outlaws and Wayfarers" (Chapter X, pp. 134-146), and every other aspect of the Western Transportation Frontier, of the history of which he has so long been an acknowledged master. Unlike Mr. Paul, he does not bowdlerise. He calls a spade a spade and a river (with proper documentation) a harlot. Mr. Paul would have run a mile from a Missouri steamboat gambler, three miles from Black Bart's poetic road-agentry, and fifty miles from the Plummer Gang, the Bass Gang, the James Gang, the Renos, and the Younger Brothers—none of whom (regrettably) ever went to Harvard. Mr. Winther stands his ground with them all, and he even smiles when he calls them scoundrels. Did I say his style was sober? Well (and mercifully), he has occasional lapses. What about this (p. 143)?:

> Thereupon the brigands mounted their steeds with grain sacks in hand, and shrieking out the rebel yell 'yip, yip, yaw,' dashed off under cover of darkness. Casualties included the engineer, who was scalded to death....

In this excellent little volume, modestly priced, well produced, well researched, and well introduced by its indefatigable editor Ray Billington (who this time does not exaggerate when he claims "This book is unique," p. vii), Mr. Winther reassures us that a scholarly work on the American West does not have to be dull. In fact, we just cannot wait until Winther Rides Again.

PROFESSOR JOHN A. HAWGOOD, who teaches Western American History at the University of Birmingham in England, and who recently edited *First And Last Consul: Thomas Oliver Larkin and the Americanization of California* for the Huntington Library, has just been elected to the new chair of American History at his university.

A History of the Los Angeles Labor Movement, 1911-1941. By Louis B. Perry and Richard S. Perry. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1963). 622 pp. $10.50.) Reviewed by Richard D. Batman.

Louis B. and Richard S. Perrys' history of the Los Angeles labor movement should occupy a prominent place on the shelf of any California historian's library. Whether or not it should be read thoroughly before being placed on that shelf is another question altogether.

The work is a painstaking and impressive compilation of factual material concerning the Los Angeles labor movement from 1911 to 1941. The very thoroughness of the book makes it difficult to conceive of any phase of the movement, no matter how small or unimportant, that is not at least touched upon. Even the cap makers', the flour, feed and cereal warehousemen's, and the gas station and parking lot attendants' unions are briefly mentioned.

Accompanying this massive amount of material is an excellent index which makes it all easily available to anyone searching for a specific item within the boundary of this subject. The work is also thoroughly documented and contains a valuable bibliography for those who wish to further pursue their own interest.

The documentation, bibliography, and depth of material make this an outstanding contribution as a reference work in the field of California history. Unfortunately, the high quality of the work becomes less apparent when it is considered as a book to be read from cover to cover.

The Perrys have written the entire work in a very dispassionate style. This, of course, is not a vice, particularly when writing about labor which often lends itself to wild flights of the emotions. There is, however, the possibility of becoming so dispassionate as to milk the content of all life and leave nothing but the skeleton of factual material. This is the pitfall into which the Perrys fall.

The passionate commitment of both the unions and the open shop forces to their causes, the violence of strikes, particularly on the waterfront, and the irrationality of charges and countercharges are all described dispassionately. Consequently, violence, passion, and irrationality never seem to be anything more than words in a book.

This is occasionally relieved by comments on the labor movement by the Los Angeles *Times*, a source which could hardly fail to provide life to any narrative. One of the best of these comments is the *Times*' reference to "Dave Beck, 'The man who tried to kill Santa Claus'."

The dispassionate quality is only a part of the reason for the lifelessness of the writing. The Perrys also failed to provide more than a very loose frame of reference for the Los Angeles labor movement.

Naturally, the book is concerned with the labor movement within the city limits of Los Angeles, and the authors cannot be criticised for not going beyond the boundaries they established for themselves. A labor movement, however, is an integral part of the economic, social and political life which exists not only locally, but also on the state and national level. The Perrys only partially grounded their study in such a base.

The authors are at their best in tying the labor movement to the economy of Los Angeles, and give a thorough understanding of the connection between the late industrialization of the city and the open shop philosophy. The work suffers, however, from a very spotty discussion of politics and social factors as they apply to the labor movement.

Politically, the work is much stronger for the 1930's than for the earlier period. Here the authors break out of their narrow framework and give background material of the New Deal and Governor Olsen's attitude toward labor. If the boundaries could be broken for this period, they could have been broken for the earlier period. This would have prevented the almost total disregard of the divisive role of labor in the California progressive movement, and the aid given by southern California progressives to the open shop movement. It also would have prevented the disregard of the nineteen twenties when, according to the authors, Los Angeles labor, like labor on a national scale, fails to make any gains. No mention is made of either national or local politics, even though the lack of political action in this period is as significant as the later actions taken by Roosevelt and Olsen. Also, although prohibition is mentioned in its connection with the bartenders unions, the complex social scene of the twenties is described with the by now well worn cliche "prosperity."

Most of the weaknesses of this work seem to stem from the fact that the Perrys, like most authors, have been faced with the problem of whether to give primary emphasis to putting in as much material as possible, or of using this material to give some broad meaning to the subject. The Perrys have chosen the former course, and by so doing have provided a valuable compilation of factual material concerning the Los Angeles labor movement. Everyone interested in such a reference work will profit by having this book on their shelf. Anyone interested, however, in finding the meaning of the labor movement for the broader fields of Los Angeles, California or United States history is advised to bring their insight with them for the authors themselves provide very little.

RICHARD BATMAN, who is presently working on a political study of post-World War I California, is an instructor in history at Mount San Antonio College.

Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West. By Dale Morgan. (Lincoln, Nebraska, University of Nebraska Press, 1964. 453 pp. Paper, $1.85.) Reviewed by R. Coke Wood.

There is always an aura of magical appeal attached to an individual who accomplishes a significant "first." In a great many instances, the man fails to warrant his lasting fame. Such is not the case of Jedediah Strong Smith. Morgan has accurately portrayed the true importance and contributions of Smith to the development of the American West. Smith was the first to discover South Pass and open Oregon and California to the American settlers; the first to transmit mapping data for these areas and the first to transverse the West Coast from San Diego to Vancouver.

Dale L. Morgan's *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West* is an epic of human courage and endurance. The key to this definitive study is held by the second half of the title. For in its essence, Morgan's biography of Smith is a detailed account of the most vital decade of American fur trade—the 1820's. The subject is larger than Jedediah Smith. Morgan presents a historical record of the adventurous trappers and the vast terrain over which they traveled in quest of the rich fur-bearing animals.

Originally published in 1953 by the Bobbs-Merrill Company, this paperback reprint (Bison Book 184) makes Morgan's classic work available to a much larger public at a much reduced price. This is the first time the University of Nebraska Press has entered the paperback field. They are to be congratulated on this publication. We are sure the sale of this economy edition will justify their confidence in this less expensive field.

In the appendix to his book, Dr. Morgan has included a considerable collection of Jedediah Smith's personal letters. The inclusion of this primary source material greatly enriches the book, and adds to its intrinsic value to the student and scholar. Morgan accomplished a most difficult feat in a most rewarding manner with his integration of the role of a great man into the midstream of events during a great era of American history.

R. Coke Wood, professor of history at the University of the Pacific, is executive secretary of the Conference of California Historical Societies.

George Drouillard: Hunter and Interpreter for Lewis and Clark, and Fur Trader, 1807-1810. By M. O. Skarsten. (Glendale, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1964. 356 pp. $11.00.) Reviewed by A. P. Nasatir.

The famous transcontinental journey of Lewis and Clark has never ceased to furnish materials for students, writers, editors, and readers. Most of the documentation relating to that epic odyssey has been brought to light and published, some as recently as within the past two years. Of all the personnel that made up that great trek only Lewis, Clark, Charbonneau, and Sacajawea have been known widely and written about.

Professor M. O. Skarsten has been a student of the Lewis and Clark Expedition for many years. He has driven over the routes of the expedition especially from the western side and into and across the continental divide. "Falling in love" with George Drouillard, Professor Skarsten has milked the Thwaites' edition of the *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* and a few other sources and has come up with a work of love on George Drouillard. He has rescued this interesting Westerner and has now given him a substantial biography. By carefully pulling together the materials that he has been able to collect, he has produced a very creditable sketch of Drouillard, especially during the last seven or eight years of his life. Professor Skarsten has substantially proved that George Drouillard deserves recognition for his work with the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Drouillard, born of the union of a French Canadian father and a Shawnee mother, was recruited or hired as a hunter and interpreter. He became not only those, but also recruiter of personnel, message bearer, retriever of deserters and stray horses, and a skillful Indian diplomat trading for horses. More than that, he became the boon companion of Captain Lewis, and played an important role in a number of crises which occurred on the expedition. Also, he furnished Captain Clark with geographical information which Clark used in his map of 1809.

This book handsomely printed by the Arthur H. Clark Company can be divided roughly into two parts. The first 250 pages details Drouillard's activities with the Lewis and Clark expedition, 1803-1806. The second part, pages 251-316, deals with Drouillard's fur trading expeditions with Manuel Lisa between 1807 and the time of his death at the hands of the Blackfeet Indians in July, 1810. Drouillard was a partner and actively engaged in the Upper Missouri River fur trade with Lisa, who became the most successful of the early fur traders of that valley.

From the various journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition, Professor Skarsten presents an extended account of the various services provided by Drouillard to that famous expedition. In spite of the author's research efforts, there is precious little available material for a full biographical account of the energetic, courageous, and capable George Drouillard, especially for his younger years. Professor Skarsten relates only what Walter B. Douglas wrote about Drouillard's birth and early life. Concerning his fur trading expeditions and activities with Lisa going up the Missouri as a partner in Lisa's expedition of 1807 and another Lisa expedition of 1809, Skarsten relies heavily upon Burton Harris' *Colter* (Colter was a companion of Drouillard on the Upper Missouri) and the Douglas edition and notes to Thomas James' *Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans.* Unfortunately the author did not make use of Judge Douglas' life of Manuel Lisa which would have provided him with much material concerning the relationships between the two partners. Also Skarsten would have profited if he could have used the reviewer's new edited edition of that Douglas work which was published simultaneously with his work. However, Professor Skarsten did make use of most of the material relating to Drouillard's trial for the murder of Antoine Bissonette located in the Missouri Historical Society and which in part he reproduces in facsimile and summarizes in an appendix.

Professor Skarsten has added to his narrative a number of other appendices, mostly drawn from Thwaites' *Original Journals,* which serve a good purpose and aid the reader and student. He has added a bibliography and an index. Two maps are given, one a very useful original map on which are drawn the routes of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and the routes of Drouillard during his fur trading activities in the Upper Missouri region. The other is Clark's map of 1809 which is partly based on information furnished by Drouillard. The map is reproduced together with Drouillard's notes, taken from the manuscript collection of the Missouri Historical Society. Professor Skarsten has continued the trend of drawing western heroes from obscurity. His example should be emulated by other scholars of the West.

A. P. NASATIR, professor of history at San Diego State College, is a former president of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. His latest study, *A French Journalist in the California Gold Rush,* has recently been published by The Talisman Press.

A French Journalist in the California Gold Rush: The Letters of Etienne Derbec. Edited by A. P. Nasatir. (Georgetown, California, The Talisman Press, 1964. 258 pp. $12.50.) Reviewed by Nelson Klose.

The turmoil in France accompanying the Revolution of 1848 and the depression in the early years of the Second Empire paralleled the gold rush and brought over thirty-two thousand restless Frenchmen to California. Professor A. P. Nasatir's scholarly work, made up of the biography and the translated letters of the critical French journalist Etienne Derbec, tells us much about both the French in California and the gold rush itself. This versatile and energetic bachelor, Derbec, living in California from 1850 to 1897, is considered the best source of information on the French in California. He busied himself as a French consul, as a journalist and publisher, and became involved in mining of precious metals. The letters were written while Derbec served as a correspondent to the *Journal des Debats in Paris.* In 1852 in San Francisco Derbec began publication of his own newspaper, the *Echo du Pacifique,* the longest-lived of French newspapers in California. In 1865 soon after Lincoln's assassination Derbec's life savings were lost when his printing plant was wrecked by the Union Army—on the false assumption that he was pro-Confederate. After this he spent the major part of his time in working on new processes in mining, in exploration, and in mining operations. Much of the biography deals with Derbec's frustration in his various attempts to secure damage payments for the army's destruction of his printing press.

Derbec's letters tell of the disappointments encountered by Frenchmen in the search for gold, the French companies of immigrant miners, the discriminatory foreign miner's tax, and of the French in activities other than the search for gold. Also described are the changes in the city of San Francisco, merchandising and prices, river steamboats, the hardships of overland American gold seekers, conditions in the mines, mining techniques, the bad luck and failure of most miners, and the exaggerated reports of gold deposits in California. Other subjects discussed at some length include gambling, food and drink, the Indians of California, social life in San Francisco, the beginnings of agriculture, the American domination of Hawaii, and mob action against French miners.

In its structure, Professor Nasatir's book begins with a fifty-nine-page introduction, a biographical sketch which deals mainly with Derbec's activities in California. This introduction ends with nine pages of "Notes on Sources" which serves well as a bibliography. The notes call attention to Derbec materials at the New York Historical Society, the archives of the French Foreign Ministry and of the Prefecture of Police in Paris, in the Huntington and Bancroft libraries, and other sources used. A number of contemporary accounts were written by Frenchmen in the gold rush; much of this material has been published by the *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society. Newspapers and periodicals, especially in California, offer much source material.

Pages 75-191 carry the text of thirteen lengthy letters written by Derbec during the years 1850-1851. These letters, written in San Francisco and from points in the gold fields and in Honolulu, were prepared for publication. Pages 192-247 are composed of detailed "Notes" which supply about as much information as the letters themselves. Eleven pages of well-prepared index add to the usefulness of the book.

Professor Nasatir has pursued his interest in the French in California since the early 1920's and has produced many other books and articles on their activities in the state. The larger part of the information in the letters regarding conditions in the mines and in California is not new but corroborates what many other sources reveal. Nevertheless, the book is a worthwhile addition to the large number of source materials and other publications on the significant subjects of the gold rush and of the French in California.

Nelson Klose, a doctoral graduate of the University of Texas, is associate professor of history at San Jose State College. He is the author of *America's Crop Heritage*, and of two recent books: *California: Basic History and Government* and the Bison book, *A Concise Study Guide to the American Frontier.*

The Mexican Mesta: The Administration of Ranching in Colonial Mexico. By William H. Dusenberry. (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1963. 253 pp. Index. Appendix. $5.00.) Reviewed by Michael Thurman.

Professor Dusenberry is essentially a new author in the field of Latin America and his first book is deserving of high praise. In 1962 the executive committee of *Agricultural History* awarded the Pennsylvania professor its Annual Agricultural History Prize for his manuscript pertaining to colonial ranching in New Spain. Recently the same committee tendered him special recognition when they chose Dr. Dusenberry to serve as editorial consultant. The author's prize-winning monograph, *The Mexican Mesta*, is the subject of this review.

The natural background for Mexican livestock production must be sought in the Iberian Peninsula, and this is the introduction presented by Professor Dusenberry. Spain was especially well-suited to support transhumance culture and even while wars of religion raged and foreign conquerors roamed the central plateau, Castilian shepherds grazed their sheep and cattle. The Mesta was one of the oldest royal institutions of the Iberian Peninsula originating, as the author has determined, in early Castilian ordinances pertaining to livestock. During annual meetings of the stockmen of Castile, the membership voted to uphold their ancient *fueros* and to control strays of cattle and sheep. This conclave soon became known as a *mesta* while the strays of all range animals were the *mezclados.*

In 1273 King Alfonso X extended royal recognition to the "Honorable Assembly of the Mesta Shepherds," thereby establishing this guild in a position of power. During the next two hundred years, the Mesta became a revered institution and even waxed fat if we consider the size of their flocks—more than two and one-half million sheep.

Coincident with the Epic of Discovery, Columbus and his predecessor, Nicolás de Ovando, ferried livestock to the lands of the Indies, specifically providing for their propagation and protection. Then came Hernán Cortés and his soldiers storming throughout his new-found Kingdom of New Spain; they too brought livestock of every description. By the year 1524, cattle and horses were a nuisance in Mexico City, grazing at will and running uncontrolled. The cabildo of Mexico voted on April 8 of that same year to require stockmen to guard horses and cattle, "so that they should not go unattended while crops were in the field." Some years later, Viceroy Mendoza took an active part in the formation of a new, powerful organization of the Mexican stockmen. In collaboration with Francisco de Loaysa, the first viceroy promulgated a full code of ordinances for the Mexican Mesta in 1537.

From this early introduction of the Mesta in New Spain, the author elaborates on colonial administration of livestock. There are, for example, significant themes in this work such as: "Theft and Damage Cases," "Land Tenure, Pasturage Systems, and Sheepwalks," and "The Mesta and the Formation of Large Estates." Underlying all of these titles is Dusenberry's deft touch of providing generous translation of contemporary laws and even cogent comments from the alcaldes de Mesta or the lowly Indian.

The format of *The Mexican Mesta* is delightful to those scholars who have been hypnotized by many a long-winded rendition of mediocrity. It is a compact volume by modern standards; there are twelve chapters, all with nearly equal pagination, plus a conclusion and two appendices (one of which is "Mesta Ordinances of 1537" in Spanish). For much background information, I suspect that Professor Dusenberry depended upon his orginial progeny—a dissertation from the University of Michigan. Finally, one often has to make apologies or prepare furtive comments about footnotes and bibliographical citation when reviewing books pertaining to the Hispanic fields. This is not the case with Dusenberry's *Mesta*: it is a model of craftsmanship in judicious, informative footnotes. The author's references indicate thorough competence and a dogged determination on his part to include both original materials and also recent monographs or articles which are pertinent. I am particularly pleased to note an author who has consulted knowledgeable dictionaries and other guides and then assists his reader by a complete listing of these items.

By the exacting standards of the professional historian or of the numerous book dealers this book merits unstinting praise. It is one of the few solidly researched, and well written volumes which are currently offered by the college presses today. I warmly concur with *Agricultural History* in supporting *The Mexican Mesta* for national recognition.

Michael E. Thurman is an assistant professor of history at East Texas State College.

Monuments in Cedar. By Edward L. Keithahn. (Seattle, Superior Publishing Company, 1963. 156 pp. $12.50.) Reviewed by Valerie Mathes.

Monuments in Cedar is a detailed historical and contemporary study of the

Northwest Coast totem poles. The author, Edward Keithahn, is certainly qualified to produce such a work as he has been with the office of Indian affairs in Alaska for fifteen years and has made a lifetime study of this particular subject.

The author begins his work by a brief description of the Totempolar Region, a name coined by the author to include the area of coastal British Columbia and the Alaskan panhandle. This area is the birthplace of the totem pole. An ethnological as well as natural history of this area was also included in the opening chapter of the book.

The origin of the totem pole, as the second chapter points out, is unclear. For example, the Haida of Queen Charlotte Sound say that their inspiration for the totem pole came when they discovered a waterlogged pole which had drifted to their beaches. Nevertheless, there are two major schools of thought as to the origin of the pole: one school holds it to be post-European, while the other holds it to be prehistoric. The author, however, has taken no definite stand as to either school.

To understand fully the totem pole, it is necessary to include a brief discussion of the social and political organization of the Indians since they took the animals seen carved on the poles from their particular clan names thus indicating that their personal ancestry figures in directly with the totem animals. Such a sketch is to be found in chapter six.

Since these early aboriginals did not understand the universe, they made use of supernatural beings to explain the unknown. Many interesting legends of these supernatural beings, as well as several examples of their oral tradition, are included in chapters nine and fourteen. In the oral literature are found many adventures of the Raven, a common character carved on the totem poles.

In chapter ten the reader finds a brief sketch of the workings of the early potlatches. No book on totem poles would be complete without the mention of this important cultural institution which was the main status ceremony through which a clan could rise or fall on the social ladder. Totem poles were erected at potlatches; once they had been put into place by a particular chief, he was not expected to repair them since it would require another very costly ceremony similar to the original. Thus, once the pole was erected, the aboriginal inhabitants did not bother to repair it, since it was in memory of a chief and lasted only during his lifetime. Many attempts have been made to renovate and preserve the poles, and these modern attempts are outlined in chapter twelve.

The author has consulted the major historical sources for his work, and he uses the logs and journals of the European ship captains and crew members who traded with the natives along the coast for their precious sea otter skins. This source is one of the only means by which very early information about totem poles has been obtained, and since the early aboriginals were illiterate, no written records were created which could be handed down to the historian. Major anthropological works on the individual groups of the Pacific Northwest Coast Indians have been cited as well. A main source of data, which is often unreliable, is the use of native informers who have related the legends and myths of the individual animals appearing on the poles. One disadvantage lies with this type of information since different versions of the same legend may be learned by different groups, thus the actual legend may never be obtained. However, in many instances, this, also, is the only possible source for a work such as this.

This book contains an array of truly beautiful photographs of the many varieties of totem poles, such as potlatch poles, shame poles, mortuary poles, heraldic portal poles, house pillars and memorial poles. Pictures on the art of this area are also included. This work, despite the many fine pictures, is quite expensive and does not give the reader a deep enough knowledge of any one aspect of the totem pole, as only a very brief sketch was given on each aspect. This book serves as a good starting point for anyone interested in totem poles, as he could obtain knowledge of many of the main points, then, by using the author's bibliography, develop his study more fully.

VALERIE MATHES, a student of Pacific Northwest history, is a graduate of the University of New Mexico.

Book of Remembrance

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Young Marius Biane came from France and worked at the Brookside winery. He met, loved and married one of the Vache girls, Marceline. In time he became solely responsible for Brookside's operation. Since then the Biane family, fifth generation California vintners, have continued to manage the winery.

Mr. Secondo Guasti took five thousand acres of land, and with tremendous effort changed the wilderness into one of the world's largest single vineyards. Mr. Guasti built the fabulous stone winery building now occupied by Brookside Vineyard Company, as well as the proud community named for him.

Guasti is the living testimonial of a great California pioneer; it has grown far beyond its founder's dreams and is now a part of one of California's greatest wine areas, the Cucamonga District.

SAN JOSE MERCURY-SAN JOSE NEWS

The San Jose *Mercury* was founded on June 20, 1851. Originally named the San Jose *Weekly Visitor*, the paper lived through two other name changes before the *Mercury* christening in 1860.

The San Jose paper was founded by a triumvirate: J. C. Emerson, the publisher; A. Jones, Jr., his editor; and a clergyman, the Reverend J. F. Damon.

The San Jose *Item* was founded by Hugh A. DeLacy, reportedly with a mere 35 cents in capital. Created to emphasize local news, the paper prospered and shucked its original name for the more substantial title of *Evening News*.

On August 20, 1901, the Hayes family bought the *Mercury*. They consolidated a weak evening paper, *The Herald*, with the *Mercury* in 1913 to form the *Mercury-Herald*, a hyphenation which was wiped out in 1950 on the *Mercury*'s ninety-ninth birthday.

On August 1, 1952, Northwest Publications took over the *Mercury* and *News*. Under the vigorous leadership of Joseph B. Ridder, the publisher since the 1952 change in ownership, the papers have attained new peaks in advertising and circulation and no end appears in sight.

Now well into its second century, the *Mercury* is a far cry from the little four-page paper that greeted the citizens of San Jose on June 20, 1851, as they still mourned the loss of their capital city status.

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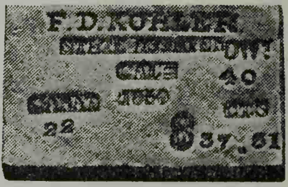

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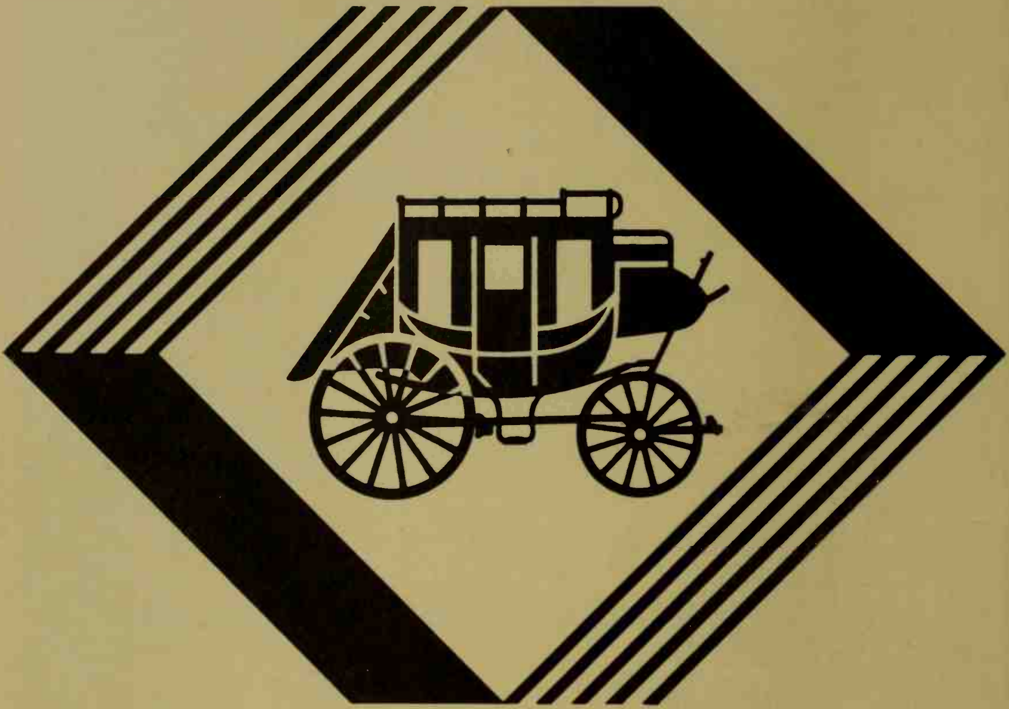

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D. W. Griffith: The Lean Years

By RICHARD BATMAN

DURING the late forties, a tall man with thinning white hair and a hooked nose spent much of his time strolling along the streets of Hollywood. He often passed the crowded corner of Hollywood and Vine, famous as the crossroads of movieland, but few people recognized him as anything more than just another old man.

Yet this was David Wark Griffith, the legend, the instinctive genius of motion pictures and the father of American film. This was Griffith, the Kentucky farm boy who made *The Birth of a Nation* in 1914 and invented or developed most of the film techniques being used today. This was Griffith, whose pictures had earned millions of dollars. And this was Griffith, who made stars of Mary Pickford, the Gish sisters, and Mae Marsh and who gave boosts to the directing careers of Erich Von Stroheim and Mack Sennett.

But in the forties, the great movies, the big money, and the great discoveries had been gone for more than twenty years and Griffith was leading a secluded and unnoticed life in a small hotel apartment which faced an alley near Hollywood and Vine. He spent his days walking along Hollywood Boulevard or sitting in his hotel lobby telling anyone who would listen about the old days.[1]

In the evenings he visited the restaurants and bars in Hollywood and hoped to find a familiar face. But the faces became less and less familiar to him; and, in turn, he was recognized by fewer and fewer people. Occasionally he would treat the boys at the bar and tell them of Hollywood's past or of the one last film he was going to make.[2]

In the late forties, the name of D. W. Griffith, the finest director of

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RICHARD BATMAN, a graduate of the University of Colorado and of Northwestern University, is currently an instructor in history at Mount San Antonio College in Walnut, California.

the silent movie era, had not appeared on a movie credit list for almost twenty years and he had not worked on a movie in any capacity for almost ten years. In 1947 he told Ezra Goodman, who conducted the last interview with him, "Today nobody is interested in D. W. Griffith. I don't kid myself. They don't know who I am."[3]

The dismal and forgotten end had been creeping up on Griffith for years. At first it came slowly, but in the last twenty years of his life it picked up momentum until it dropped him into his final street-wandering, bar-hopping obscurity.

The peak of Griffith's career was reached when, at the age of thirty-nine, he made *The Birth of a Nation.* The picture was made just seven years after Griffith, a struggling playwright who had gotten nowhere in particular, took a job at Biograph studios under the name of Lawrence Griffith. He was saving his true name for his writing career and only acted in the flickers for the $5.00 that was paid at the end of each day.

He became a Biograph director and during the first year turned out an average of two one-reel pictures a week. In those early days movies were short, the technical work was rough, and the stories were sketchy. But Griffith, almost as soon as he was behind a camera, began experimenting and refining the experiments of others.

In 1914 he applied all he had learned to the making of *The Birth of a Nation*; and, when it was released, audiences saw a movie like none they had ever seen before. The picture itself was three hours long, and it had a complex story, complete with Civil War battle scenes, the assassination of Lincoln, love scenes, and all the other scenes that still go into the making of an "epic." Besides, the picture, unlike the crude movies of the time, had almost all the techniques which are used in modern motion pictures.

The story, based on Thomas Dixon's *The Clansman*, caused riots because of its sympathy with the Ku Klux Klan and its unfavorable portrayal of post-Civil War Negroes in the South. But the picture itself was a great success. Motion pictures were now recognized as an art form, and D. W. Griffith was the master of motion pictures.

Several years of greatness remained for Griffith as such pictures as *Intolerance*, *Broken Blossoms*, and *Way Down East* enhanced his reputation. But with the great pictures, Griffith made potboilers; and, as the twenties passed, there were fewer and fewer great pictures and more and more potboilers.

By 1928 Griffith was still well known but not as celebrated as he had once been. During this year, when sound was the most discussed aspect of motion pictures, Griffith returned to the movie industry after a two-and-a-half year layoff and made *Drums of Love*, a silent picture. In the excitement over sound little attention was paid to the film or to Griffith himself.[4]

Griffith's attitude toward sound was confused. Late in his life he said he had approached Adolph Zukor with the idea of sound as early as 1919, and Zukor had told him that he was crazy.[5] If this was the case, Griffith must have been convinced Zukor was right, for in 1924 he wrote, "I am positive that when a century has passed, all thought of our so-called speaking pictures will have been abandoned. It will never be possible to synchronize the voice with the picture."[6]

Despite this prediction, sound was accomplished in just a few years, and Griffith was its sworn enemy. At a meeting of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences in 1928 he condemned sound because it would destroy the beauty of the motion picture.[7] The next year, however, he changed his mind again and called sound "the greatest medium ever known," and predicted sound films would finish silent pictures and the legitimate theatre.[8]

Even though Griffith was confused, he was forced to begin using sound in his pictures. This was the late twenties; and all movies, no matter who made them, must make noise in order to be sold. So, in 1928, Griffith made *Battle of the Sexes*, a silent picture with orchestration added;[9] in 1929, *Lady of the Pavements*, in which the star, Lupe Vélez, sang five songs;[10] and in 1930, *Abraham Lincoln*, his first full-length sound picture.[11]

The first two pictures went unnoticed, but when *Abraham Lincoln* opened in New York it drew more attention to Griffith than anything he had done in several years. Most of the critics wrote long, favorable reviews and praised the pictorial quality of the film as well as the battle scene and the opening and closing scenes.[12] With all the praise, however, came the dissenting notes that had been sounded for Griffith's latest pictures. Several reviewers, despite qualified praise, said the film was old-fashioned. One critic said Griffith failed to show the originality he had formerly shown and another said the picture was "corny."[13]

Griffith was now fifty-five—although he would only admit to fifty. He had just made another picture which had drawn attention to him even though the opinions had been mixed; and, in early 1931, Film Daily selected *Abraham Lincoln* as second only to *All Quiet on the Western Front* in the list of top pictures of 1931.[14] One critic said, "It looked as though the old master was back into his stride."[15]

After *Abraham Lincoln* Griffith took several months off, then turned out *The Struggle* in three weeks in a studio lacking modern sound equipment.[16] When the picture opened in late 1931, the New York *Times* called it "a dismal drama";[17] the *Film Daily* said, "This is poor entertainment";[18] and Richard Watts, Jr., writing in *New Theatre* in 1936, said it "was simply a terrible drama about the evils of drink."[19]

A few critics praised portions of the film, but the praise was not enough to interest those who bought tickets. The picture closed after a nine-day run and was withdrawn from circulation.[20] After *The Struggle* Griffith's name never again appeared on the credits of a motion picture.

Griffith still had big plans during the years he was making his last pictures. In 1929 he announced plans to revise *The Birth of a Nation*, *Intolerance*, and *Hearts of the World* as talkies;[21] in 1930 he said he planned to film an "epic" based on the life of Sam Houston;[22] and in 1931 he said he favorably regarded a proposal to make a "super-talkie" called "The Birth of the Empire" with British government backing.[23]

Also in 1929 Griffith, the pioneer of motion pictures, became a pioneer of sorts in the world of television. In February the firm of D. W. Griffith, Inc., made a transcontinental television test. Griffith himself went on the air in Schenectady, New York, to conduct the test. His voice was broadcast over a shortwave station and his image over an experimental television station. The test was a partial success as Griffith's voice was heard in California for the full fifteen minutes, and his eyes, nose, and mouth were visible on the television screen during the first few minutes. He spent the entire fifteen minutes talking about the famous people he had originally discovered.[24]

But after *The Struggle* none of his plans developed into anything, and he drifted into his first period of semiretirement. He sold his interest in United Artists, which he had formed with Mary Pickford, Douglas

Fairbanks, and Charlie Chaplin, and, for the first time in twenty-five years, was out of the film industry.[25]

In 1933 he came out of retirement long enough to tell a New York *Times* reporter that he had been studying radio for several months and was now planning to write for it. He expanded on his plan for entering radio and concluded with, "I shall go out into the highways the same as I did for *The Birth of a Nation* eighteen years ago to bring forth another Mary Pickford or Dorothy Gish. These days I am looking for voices; years ago I sought faces."[26] Again the plan came to nothing, and Griffith returned to obscurity.

In the mid-thirties there was a sudden reinterest in him. In early 1936 he was given an honorary academy award for his contributions to the art of the film, and a few months later the Twickenham Film Company of London announced that Griffith would direct a talking version of *Broken Blossoms*, his 1919 classic.[27] He went to England; but, after viewing the silent version again, he decided he could not improve it with sound and left the production of the talking version to the English film company.

When he returned from England, he was interviewed by Frank Nugent of the New York *Times*.[28] He said he had no plans for Hollywood unless some picture with an idea to be expressed should come along. He also told Nugent that Lord Beaverbrook wanted him to make a picture to further Anglo-American relations. But Griffith said he was not interested—he would rather write his play.

About this same time, Lewis Jacobs, also in the New York *Times*, sounded a sour note as far as Griffith's chances of returning to motion pictures were concerned.[29] He said people in the film industry were calling Griffith "the old maestro" and saying, "Oh, Griffith was all right in his day, but he's old fashioned." So, instead of heading for Hollywood, Griffith returned to La Grange, Kentucky, which was just a few miles from his birthplace at Crestwood.

Once in La Grange, Griffith filed for divorce from Linda Arvidson, whom he had married in 1906. The couple had separated in 1911 when she left for Hollywood to star in a picture, and at the time of the divorce Griffith said her whereabouts was unknown to him.[30] Less than a week after the divorce was granted, he married Evelyn Marjorie Baldwin who had been an actress in *The Struggle*.[31] They settled in La

Grange, and Griffith implied he was writing a novel based on the local townspeople.[32] But, within a few months, he gave up life in the small Kentucky town and went back to Hollywood.

As a friendly gesture, he was allowed to direct a scene in *San Francisco*, which was being filmed in Hollywood. The picture was directed by Woody Van Dyke who had learned his early film lessons while working with Griffith on *Intolerance*. During the stay in Hollywood, the newspapers circulated reports that Griffith might join a Hollywood production firm as an executive, but nothing came of this. He returned to the East Coast.[33]

About this time a series of lawsuits which would eventually end in Griffith's exile from New York were filed against him. In early 1937 Linda Arvidson Griffith filed suit claiming the Kentucky divorce was without notification to her. She also demanded an accounting of income charges Griffith defaulted under the 1911 separation agreement. He claimed, however, that he had paid his ex-wife more than a million dollars since their separation.[34]

A few months later Griffith became involved in litigation arising from the auction sale of the assets of D. W. Griffith, Inc. He personally bought, for $500 and storage costs, the rights to twenty-one silent films and, for $5,000, the firm's lot at Oriente Point, Mamaroneck, New York. With the lot, however, came a mortgage and tax liens of $120,000; and, as a result, Griffith was plagued with lawsuits the rest of his life.[35]

Griffith had often claimed he would rather have been a great writer than a great director; and during the late thirties, when no film opportunities were offered him, he tried to write. He worked on plays, articles, and an autobiography. Only a few of the articles sold, and his plays and autobiography did not go well. In 1947 he told Ezra Goodman "D. W. Griffith and the Wolf—that's my autobiography—it's lousy. I stopped writing it after 80 or 90 pages and I don't know where it is now."[36]

In 1939 Griffith received his last chance to make a comeback in motion pictures. He took an advisory position with Hal Roach Studios. A few months later Herb Sterne, a New York *Times* reporter, arrived to interview him. Sterne found that Griffith's name was not listed on the studio directory and that people at the studio could not place the name. When Sterne found him, it was in a small one room office.[37]

Griffith was assigned the task of producing *One Million B.C.* and ran squarely into trouble with Hal Roach, who was directing the picture. At one time Griffith blamed his trouble on the fact that no two directors could ever agree. Another time he said the disagreement was over the amount of individuality the main characters should have. Griffith thought they should have more, Roach felt they were right the way they were. Despite the disagreement, Griffith remained the producer throughout the making of the picture, but prior to the preview he asked that his name be removed from the credits. Roach stated only that Griffith requested the removal, and Griffith said, "my name would do the picture very little good and I am sure that the picture would do me little good."[38]

One Million B.C. marked the final departure of D. W. Griffith from the film industry in which he had once been the dominating figure. In late 1940 and early 1941, the Museum of Modern Art gave an exhibition which covered most of Griffith's major works. It was accompanied by stories in newspapers and magazines, but these articles dealt exclusively with the great pictures or the great legend of D. W. Griffith, not with the man himself.[39]

The legend was of little help to Griffith. When his first sound pictures appeared, the reviews always mentioned him as "the old master" or "the greatest director of the silent screen." These pictures were then compared to one of his great films; and, although equal to the average product of the time, they were dismissed as unworthy of the "old master." After he left the film industry, he was always spoken of as a legend, and during the forties many people expressed surprise when they discovered he was still alive.

But during the forties D. W. Griffith, although forgotten completely, was still alive. His second wife, Evelyn Baldwin Griffith, had divorced him, and he lived alone in Hollywood.[40] His name, once one of the best known among movie personalities, never appeared in the papers, and the father of American film could not find work in the motion picture industry. A favorite Hollywood story is that during these last years Griffith was reduced to taking handouts from people he ran across in bars or on the street. Although the story adds to the legend of Griffith's decline, it is untrue. He always managed to pay the rent on a small apartment in one of Hollywood's best hotels, and he would occasionally break out a fifty dollar bill to treat the boys in the bars. Once, when a $3,000 check was delivered by his lawyer, he failed to cash it and apparently threw it out with the trash.[41]

When he died, he left an estate of about $30,000, enough to keep him from being impoverished, but a small amount compared to the estimated $25 million profit he and his associates took from the pictures he made.[42] But Griffith could never be bothered with money. He poured most of the profits from *The Birth of a Nation* back into *Intolerance* because he believed in it. When the picture failed at the box office, Griffith took the loss. In the thirties an auditor at the Alexandria Hotel in Los Angeles discovered an envelope in the safe marked "D. W. Griffith—Personal." In the envelope was $20,000 he had left years before and forgotten completely.[43]

He had money to live on in these last years, but he had no motion picture job to live for. But his dream of one great picture did not leave him. During the forties, he continued to plan "Christ and Napoleon," a sequel to *Intolerance*. The picture would cost five million dollars to make, would employ fifty thousand extras and would run for two days, seven hours each day.[44] Griffith could not find a backer, however; and the dream never came true.

One of those who often saw him in Hollywood said he was still talking about his one last picture on the night of July 21, 1948.[45] The next night he was found unconscious in his hotel room. On the morning of July 23, at the age of seventy-three, he died in Temple Hospital of a cerebral hemorrhage. The funeral was held in Hollywood, and afterwards Griffith was quietly buried in Mt. Tabor cemetery, just a few miles from his birthplace at Crestwood.

In the early years Griffith almost singlehandedly had invented or developed all the techniques of motion pictures. But others in the film industry had learned from his pictures, caught up with him, and finally left him far behind and forgotten. But the first dream of what could be done with the new flickers had been his. René Clair, the French movie director, summed up Griffith's contribution to motion pictures by saying, "Nothing essential has been added to the art of the motion picture since Griffith."[46]

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28. New York *Times*, November 17, 1935, sec. 9, p. 5, col. 4.

29. New York *Times*, October 20, 1935, sec. 10, p. 4, col. 1.

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33. New York *Times*, May 10, 1936, sec. 10, p. 3, col. 6.

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A History of the Los Angeles Young Men's Christian Association: The First Twenty Years

By THEODORE GRIVAS

THE REPUTATION of the Young Men's Christian Association as a movement of international significance was firmly established by the year 1882, when the hundred and one year old community of Los Angeles, then with a population of over fourteen thousand, witnessed the founding of its own association. In London some thirty-eight years before, on June 6, 1844, a group of twelve young men under the inspiring leadership of George Williams, a young man of twenty-three, formed the first YMCA in response to the need of "improving the spiritual condition of young men in the drapery and other trades."[1] But in the larger sense, the energies of the newly formed association were neither wholly confined to devotional aspects nor to any particular group. The unprecedented population shift from rural to urban centers in England, conditioned by industrialization, produced an unhealthy environment. Inadequate wages, unemployment, and overcrowded tenements were factors which greatly contributed to the corruption of moral and spiritual values. In such an environment the young men of England were easily recruited on the side of vice and depravity. George Williams and his associates came to the aid of thousands of misled young men. The movement soon caught fire and rapidly spread to many other cities in England, and by 1851 an association was established in the United States in the city of Boston.[2] On the fiftieth anniversary of the association, Queen Victoria conferred the honor of knighthood upon George Williams for his able and spirited leadership

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in the founding of the YMCA as well as for his continued and untiring interests in its behalf.

Once established in Boston, the spirit of the YMCA successfully permeated other sections of the country, and in one long span of the continent triumphantly emerged in San Francisco, where an association was established in 1853.[3] Here, as in London and some of the larger cities of the Eastern seaboard of the United States, there was a dire need for the outlet furnished young men by the association. The gold rush in 1849 had thrown thousands of young men into the mine fields of Northern California. San Francisco became the boisterous city of the forty-niners—a city where a thousand murders were committed between the years 1849 and 1856.[4] The YMCA was in many respects an answer to the hundreds of disillusioned young men returning to San Francisco from the depleted mine fields.

Los Angeles, some five hundred miles from the gold fields, felt little influence from the gold-rush reverberations and seemed content to languish as chief city of the "Queen of the Cow Counties" of Southern California. But with railroad connection to the East completed in 1876, the fortune of Los Angeles changed drastically, culminating in the Great Boom of the late 1880's. People were lured to Los Angeles as early as 1878 by a great variety of book and magazine articles extolling the glories of California climate and resources. A typical description of Southern California appeared in B. F. Taylor's *Between the Gates.*

> Whoever asks where Los Angeles is, to him I shall say: across a desert without wearying, beyond a mountain without climbing; where heights stand away from it, where ocean winds breathe upon it, where the gold-mounted lime-hedges border it . . . in the midst of a garden of thirty-six miles—there is Los Angeles.[5]

When real estate promoters and the boards of trade added their publicity to this literature, the foundation of a boom had been laid.

Typical among migrants to California in the late 1870's was Samuel Ingham Merrill, who as a young man of twenty left his native Buffalo to seek greater opportunities. Arriving with his mother and younger brother in Oakland on September 11, 1876, Merrill soon entered the grocery business. Remarkably industrious, Merrill seized the opportunity to enter the banking firm of Hopkins and Haley as bookkeeper in 1877. In two years he became manager of the firm.[6]

Merrill's vitality embraced religious and benevolent agencies as well.

In Oakland he soon became an influential lay leader of his church. He also helped found the Oakland YMCA and was elected its second president. By December, 1881, Merrill was on the move again, this time for Los Angeles, having succumbed to the lure of the opportunity-filled land to the south.[7]

There was tangible evidence at hand to attest to the increased popularity of Los Angeles by the time of Merrill's arrival. The population had increased over 25 percent since the beginning of the decade, the figure now showing fourteen thousand inhabitants. The rapidly increasing business firms were forced, in many cases, to import competently trained employees from San Francisco or the East. Ambitious young men remained in salaried positions only long enough to gain sufficient capital to invest in an enterprise of their own. A majority of the new citizens of Los Angeles were young men who, like Merrill, recognized the potentialities of Southern California.

Shortly after his arrival, Merrill entered the hardware business in partnership with L. M. Babcock. The firm of Merrill and Babcock seemingly prospered from the start. Yet despite the numerous responsibilities of his firm, Merrill found time for civic duties.

It had only been a few weeks since Merrill had resigned as president of the Oakland association. As he viewed the increasing numbers of young men whose only social outlet appeared to be the crowded saloons, he recognized the urgent necessity of establishing a YMCA in Los Angeles. He, seemingly, was the logical man to initiate the movement, having had some experience in the movement.

Merrill wasted no time in stirring up interest for the establishment of an association in Los Angeles, for in a month after his arrival, he presided over the organizational meeting of the Los Angeles Young Men's Christian Association. On January 28, 1882, a group of young men, with Merrill as their guiding spirit, met in the Trinity Methodist Church[8] and formally organized an association. Temporary officers were elected and a meeting planned for the following month to adopt a constitution and bylaws and elect permanent officers.[9]

The first newspaper account of the association appeared in the Los Angeles *Daily Times* on February 28, 1882:

> The young men of this city *have* formed a "Young Men's Christian Association" and will meet tonight at Good Templars Hall to elect officers.[10]

At this meeting the constitution and bylaws were adopted and the following were elected as permanent officers for the year: S. I. Merrill, president; Judge Edwin Baxter, first vice president; Dr. F. A. Seymour, second vice president; H. M. Cain, recording secretary; J. T. Richardson, corresponding secretary; George A. Haskell, treasurer; Peter L. Krug, librarian; and T. S. Hamilton, auditor. A total of twenty-one charter members signed the constitution and, in addition to the officers, included: L. M. Babcock, C. H. Barker, A. H. Voight, D. C. Miles, L. E. Gay, F. W. La Fetra, A. A. Curtis, Peter Warner, J. H. Blanchard, William Niles, E. A. Edwards, F. M. Coulter, and A. M. McDonal.[11] The Good Templars Hall at 117 Main Street was rented and became the association's first headquarters.[12]

It is interesting to note that the founders of the association represented an excellent cross section of Protestant Los Angeles society. No one social, economic or educational class dominated. Some were professional men, others, businessmen, and still others, modest employees. Among the officers, the president, S. I. Merrill, was in the hardware business; Edwin Baxter, the first vice president, a lawyer and former United States circuit judge; the second vice president, Dr. F. A. Seymour, a medical doctor, specializing in diseases of the throat and lungs; J. T. Richardson, the corresponding secretary, a bookkeeper with an agricultural implement company; H. M. Cain, the recording secretary, a delivery clerk with a crockery store; the treasurer, George A. Haskell, a bookkeeper with a soap works; and T. S. Hamilton, a cashier with a haberdashery firm.[13]

Once organized, the association turned to the business at hand, establishing objectives and creating committees to evenly distribute the work. The objectives, basic among YMCA's, were stated as being:

> to develop the spiritual, mental, moral and physical conditions of its members, and by them to impart comfort and assistance to strangers and others requiring it. Its creed ... the creed of the Good Samaritan ... [seeing] in everyone, a brother and friend.[14]

Active membership was, however, restricted to "young men in good standing in any of the Evangelical churches," although "moral" nonchurch members were admitted to associate membership, the distinction being restricted from holding office. As regards the feminine element, "ladies" were invited to auxiliary membership—the ladies auxiliary becoming an active and hard working group.[15]

Various committees were established to carry out the objectives of the association, for the early organizational structure provided for neither a board of directors nor any professional staff members. The officers were generously represented on the committees, which included such items as devotional, visiting and relief, employment, and lectures and entertainment. The committees seemingly plunged vigorously into their work and in a matter of weeks, the devotional committee, for example, successfully launched its weekly meetings; the employment committee provided a newcomer to the city with work; and the lectures and entertainment committee arranged a "splendid literary and musical programme," scooping the University of Southern California by engaging the very popular lecturer on the Civil War, Major Henry C. Dane, for his first Los Angeles lecture. The best committee performance was rendered by the visiting and relief committee whose achievements were recounted in the Los Angeles *Daily Times:*[16]

> The Association since its organization in this city has had its hands full of benevolent work. The officers had scarcely been elected when word was brought that a young man at the U.S. Hotel by the name of Hadsell, was very low with consumption; was far away from home and friends and in helpless condition. The members immediately took charge of the case, watched with him and ministered to his wants until death relieved the sufferer. Another case, also that of a stranger, a man by the name of Brown, came under the notice of the Association and they attended him until the charge was removed by death.
>
> A few days since a man named Reily, a stranger in the city, was reported as having suffered a stroke of paralysis. The man was destitute, and had a wife and three children depending upon him. The Association took charge of him, procured a lodging place for the man and also provided for the family. The man died on Sunday, and now the wife, it is thought, can hardly survive, being very sick. She and the little ones are dependent on the charities of the public. A committee has been appointed by the Association to solicit funds for her relief consisting of Mr. C. H. Barker and A. W. Hall and it is hoped a generous response will be made to their solicitations. The Association is a most worthy one and there is a great field here for the employment of all its members.[17]

The increase in membership to over 150, by the time of its first anniversary celebration, had put the association on a more secure footing. The funds in the treasury, however, were almost completely depleted.

A financial campaign was launched in conjunction with the annual celebration held in the Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church. Among the prominent people present was Henry J. McCoy, the general secretary of the San Francisco association, who had generously offered his services in the campaign to raise $2,500. After the ceremonies, McCoy remained in Los Angeles a few days to visit with the prominent citizens and impress upon them the importance of their contribution. Only $1,200 was subscribed, the campaign falling far short of the goal.[18]

With increased membership, the association's facilities at Good Templars Hall became woefully inadequate. Having received $1,200 in pledges, plans were immediately laid to move the association to larger and more comfortable rooms. New quarters were engaged on North Main Street some two hundred feet from the association's first home at Good Templars Hall. Furnishings and interior decorations were turned over to the able hands of the ladies auxiliary, and under the leadership of Mrs. Watson raised additional funds by conducting a series of Saturday luncheons. The association completed their move to the new rooms on April 6, 1883, but formal dedication took place several weeks later.[19]

Contact with the general secretary of San Francisco YMCA, H. J. McCoy, proved to be quite healthy. Weaknesses in organizational structure were more clearly seen by comparison. Two reforms urgently needed were the establishment of a board of directors and the procurement of professional staff members.[20] C. S. Billings, a sunday school organizer in Iowa on three months furlough, was engaged as the first general secretary of the association. His three-month tenure began in April, 1883, at the salary of $50 a month. At the dedication a few weeks later Billings served as host for the association, and McCoy as the principal speaker of the occasion carried the day, reportedly "moving many to tears."[21]

Growth in membership and expansion of facilities caused the association to speculate as to the advantages of a board of directors for smoother operation. Once again the advice and assistance of the general secretary of San Francisco, H. J. McCoy, were solicited. Merrills letter was direct:

> We wish to overhaul our Constitution and By-laws in order to provide for a Board of Directors, etc.

> If you will be kind enough to send me a copy of your Constitution and Bylaws you will assist us very materially and greatly oblige.[22]

By July 10, 1883, the constitution and bylaws were amended to permit the creation of a board of directors and the following were elected: S. I. Merrill, president; Edwin Baxter, first vice president; R. McDonald, second vice president; A. H. Voight, clerk; George Haskell, treasurer; A. A. Curtis, librarian.[23]

The first executive secretary of the association, Billings, resigned early in April to resume his duties in Iowa, and the association began its search for a person with experience in YMCA work as a replacement. F. J. Culver came highly recommended by the general secretary of San Francisco, H. J. McCoy. Culver accepted the position at the salary of $50 a month, assuming the responsibilities of office by the middle of August. As an inducement the board promised that his salary would be raised when the association assumed a better financial position, and when Culver showed a "good adaptability to the work."[24]

In 1884 Merrill was elected president of the association for the third time, and Culver was retained as general secretary. Late in the year the association made its third move in order to expand its facilities. Rooms were engaged in the Nadeau Block on Spring Street.[25] A reading room and library became new additions to the association rooms, but even these facilities were outgrown in 1885 by the steadily increasing membership.[26]

At the annual election of officers in January of 1885, Judge Edwin Baxter was chosen president of the association. The rest of the officers included: Dr. F. A. Seymour, first vice president; H. B. Clapp, second vice president; H. W. Mills, treasurer; and A. H. Voight, clerk. Judge Baxter's service to the association began as a charter member, serving with distinction two terms as first vice president and working tirelessly on many committees. Born in Vermont in 1831, Mr. Baxter gained moderate fame as a jurist in Michigan. After his discharge from the Union Army in 1864, he became city clerk of Grand Rapids, probate court judge in 1870, and circuit court commissioner and injunction master in 1874. In Los Angeles by the early 1880's, Baxter continued to rise in the legal profession, and by 1885 was appointed commissioner of the Los Angeles superior court. His community service included his tenure as trustee of Occidental College and as member and director of the Historical Society of Southern California. Baxter's characteristics, according to one observer, were listed as follows:[27]

> He is never bitterly partisan nor a noisy politician. Member of Presbyterian Church but is rather liberal than sectarian, rather retiring and undemonstrative in disposition and habit.... Always an enthusiastic student, he is thoroughly in love with his profession in which he is a hard worker. He attends rather closely to business and you can always tell where to find him. A Republican, having voted for every Republican candidate for President starting with Fremont in 1856, except when away from home during the Civil War.[28]

During these early years the association was in strong sympathy with the temperance societies, occasionally holding meetings with them, and frequently allowing the WCTU and YWCTU to use the association hall for meetings. The temperance movement was rapidly gaining popularity throughout the United States, and hundreds of temperance societies were established. Basically the association was in accord with temperance but was not militantly co-operative.[29]

Los Angeles was witnessing its first madness—the Real Estate Boom—by the time the new slate of association officers were elected in 1886. Heading the list as president of the association was Lyman Stewart, a man of considerable importance in the development of Southern California. Completing the list of officers were: H. W. Mills, first vice president; M. L. Weeks, second vice president; A. H. Voight, treasurer; and L. E. Myers, recording secretary. F. J. Culver was retained as general secretary.[30]

Lyman Stewart arrived in Los Angeles in 1883, and shortly thereafter engaged in the oil business, with which he became prominently associated in Southern California. Born in Cherry Tree, Pennsylvania, on July 22, 1840, Stewart received valuable oil experience in the nation's first oil fields. In California Stewart cofounded the Union Oil Company, of which he was president for over two decades. Aside from his YMCA activity, Lyman Stewart was closely identified with the Union Rescue Mission and the Bible Institute of Los Angeles. It was largely through the energetic leadership of Stewart that the first association building was begun and completed.[31]

With the election of the new board, the outlook for the association appeared quite bright. The Los Angeles *Daily Times* optimistically stated:

> Mr. Stewart, the newly elected president, is a large owner in the Newhall oil well and a man of sterling character. A decided move will be made this year toward a building, which is much needed. With a house of their own, the society would be able to offer great opportunities for self improvement to all young men through a gymnasium, evening classes, lectures, library, reading rooms, bathroom and various religious meetings.[32]

"Decided moves," however, were not much more than abortive attempts in 1886, for the projected building was not begun until two years later. But, nevertheless, the association was justly proud of its four-year record of service to Los Angeles, and its annual report of 1886 enumerated its distinguished accomplishments:

> The average attendance daily at the free reading room has been over forty, making over the year over 15,000 who have availed themselves of this one hospitality, over 10,000 have attended the Sunday Gospel Services, 127 young men have employment through the Association bureau, 55 sick young men have received the helping hand, the friendly word, and pecuniary aid needed in their distress, 11 have been helped in their return to their friends in the East, by passes secured and money given, in hundreds of other ways our young men helped over hard places—by good service in an opportune time, a letter of introduction, etc.[33]

Subscriptions for a privately owned association building arrived too infrequently in 1886 to seriously consider buying property. But the arrival of new citizens continued at an alarming and unprecedented pace, making the need for adequate YMCA facilities more pressing. The association increased its expenditure to $2,800 for the year in an effort to expand its program. In an article in the Los Angeles *Daily Times* signed by the association, the facts were presented to the people:

> There are over 8,000 young men in this city, more than 2,000 of this number are clerks, mechanics, employees and students mostly living in crowded lodging houses away from the restraints of home. Hundreds of saloons, billiard halls, brothels, stand open day and night to ruin young men. The YMCA is caring for the bodies, minds and souls of 8,000 young men of this city, offering them a cheerful, homelike social resort, with an amusement parlor, reading, lectures, entertainment, religious meeting and good company.[34]

Failing in health, Frank J. Culver resigned as general secretary of the association on January 13, 1886. He retired to the quiet and restful atmosphere of Pasadena, where in a year and a half he recovered sufficiently to help launch the Pasadena YMCA. The Los Angeles *Daily Times* reported:

> The Pasadena Association numbers nearly 200 members and is one of the most wide awake and earnest. F. J. Culver formerly identified with the YMCA of Los Angeles as its secretary is one of the wheel horses of the Pasadena organization.[35]

William H. Mead succeeded Culver as general secretary of the association late in 1886. Desperately in need of more room, especially for athletic activities, the association leased a two story building on 212 West 2nd Street in the latter part of 1886. As hosts of the Sixth Annual State Convention held in October, the Los Angeles association, their building program somewhat stalemated, greeted their state brethren in what was described as "partially adequate headquarters."[36]

A second term as president was given Lyman Stewart by the members of the association in their annual election held February 2, 1887. E. C. Siglers was elected first vice president and represented the only change from the slate of officers the previous year. First business on the association's agenda was the matter of incorporation, which was completed and filed on February 4, 1887.[37] Now a duly recognized corporate body, the association planned to strengthen its efforts to raise the subscriptions for the new building. On February 22, therefore, the association invited forty prominent citizens to attend a dinner at the Nadeau Hotel to help spearhead the drive for a YMCA building. At the dinner, $6,000 more was pledged, making the total subscriptions $30,000.[38] Needing $50,000 before construction on a new building could begin, members of the association were greatly encouraged by the subscription of one of the citizens present. According to the Los Angeles *Daily Times*:

> A gentleman present offered to give $10,000 on March 2—on condition that another $10,000 be secured before that time, which will make the desired amount necessary to build.[39]

Two months after the Pasadena association had made preparations for their building, the Los Angeles YMCA secured the property on South Fort Street and embarked upon plans for their new building. The real estate boom being at its height, an inflated price of $37,000 was paid by the association for the 70-by-150-foot lot on Fort Street.[40] Typical of Boom periods, optimism waxed strong. Everyone, moreover, was extremely gratified at the announcement of the projected association building. The *Times* said:

> Announcement made today in the local columns of today's *Times* will be universally hailed in Los Angeles as a welcomed piece of news. It is to the effect that the YMCA has completed negotiations for the purchase of a lot on the west side of Fort Street on the corner of 2nd and joining to the new Whitmer Bank Building.... The Association is obligated to erect within the next sixteen and a half months a building of not less than seventy by one hundred feet in ground dimensions and four stories high. As an inducement for hurrying the project a rebate of 4,500 dollars is to be allowed by the seller if the building is to be completed within the year. The managers of the YMCA evidently know what they are about and have made a contract which looks like business. Such a building will prove an ornament to the city and the increased advantages which it will give to the Association in its commendable work will rebound to the moral and intellectual and physical good of the community. The general effect of the structure in the midst of the city is to pointed out [sic] as the home of such an organization will be worth dollars and cents to every owner of real estate, and with this idea in view even if they were incapable of any higher motive, the well-to-do people of Los Angeles will afford to put their shoulders to the wheel, and roll up the building.[41]

At the cornerstone laying ceremonies of the association building on December 6, the chief speaker was once again the San Francisco general secretary, H. J. McCoy, who doubtlessly was overjoyed at the success of the Los Angeles association, having helped initiate a drive to raise pledges during its first anniversary celebration. His spirited remarks presaged the greatness of both YMCA and California:

> The laying of the cornerstone today marks an important era in the religious work of this city, state and nation. Save the young men and you protect your political, social and religious interest of the future. Let the structure go up and let thousands of young men come in; we are able to care for them for, "we are come in the good day" and live in the grandest country of the nation.[42]

Laying the cornerstone in place was the first president of the association, Samuel Ingham Merrill, who placed in the provided niche in the stone a copper box containing copies of the Los Angeles *Daily Times*, the *Herald Tribune*, the *Express*, the *Southern Advocate*, and the *Southern California Baptist*. Also included in the copper box were the last report of the board of trade, documents containing the association's organizational date and membership data, pamphlets showing views of the bulletin, a copy of the revised Testament.[43]

The presidency of the association in 1888 fell to Howard W. Mills, who was prominently associated with the YMCA from its organization, although he was not listed as a charter member. Seventeen years after his birth in 1832, Mills left New Jersey for Indianapolis where business failures drove him on to Minneapolis. Here he successfully engaged in the real estate business, but ill health forced him to liquidate his assets and strike out for California. In 1870 he purchased a ranch near Santa Barbara, but he was soon in Los Angeles seeking greener pastures in the real estate business. Associated with A. E. Pomeroy, the firm of Pomeroy and Mills played an important role in the development of Los Angeles County. Among their more famous subdivisions were the cities of Long Beach and Hollywood. His philanthropic work included being on the board of trustees of Occidental College and Pomona College and helping found the Union Rescue Mission.[44]

Foremost among the activities of the association in 1888 was to press forward for the completion of their new building. Yet the more basic activities of the association could not be ignored. Membership reaching a new high, an assistant to the general secretary had to be engaged. Greater co-operation and better organization made the Sunday devotional meetings more successful. Music provided by the YMCA orchestra, one of the finest among the nation's associations, helped also.[45] According to *The Watchman*:

> In Los Angeles the small hall of the Opera House has been secured for the Sunday Gospel Meeting. The change has been wonderfully blessed by God, the attendance of men only (and very largely young men) being from 350-400 each Sunday, and requests for prayer at every meeting. The Yoke Fellows hold a consecration meeting in the morning and then distribute 2,000 invitations on the main streets. Fifteen minutes before the meeting they sing in front of the Opera House and thus attract a crowd of men, many of whom follow them to the meeting. This Association has one of the best (if not the best) Association Orchestras in the country. About ten of them are present at each service, and with their help the singing is simply inspired. . . .[46]

Under the leadership of the new assistant general secretary, A. P. Chipron, the association extended its interests to boys.[47] At a meeting held in March, 1888, the state secretary, C. S. Mason, addressed a group of twelve boys. *The Watchman* reported:

> They [association boys] have an orchestra of six pieces and a Bible class with an average attendance of twelve.[48]

Though not clearly within the common definition of boys work, it is evident that the Los Angeles association's interest in boys dates back to an early period.

At the Grace Methodist Church in Los Angeles, on May 15, another YMCA was organized. This was the Japanese Young Men's Christian Association whose membership jumped from the original eight to twenty in a few weeks.[49] According to *The Watchman*, the association's semimonthly international medium of communication, this Japanese association was the second formed in the United States. Having adopted a separate constitution and bylaws, based upon suggestions of the International Committee for Associations in Small Towns, it could not be considered a branch or even a part of the first-established Los Angeles YMCA.[50]

It was evident in the early days of 1889 that the building program was not proceeding according to plan. Money for the completion of the building was desperately needed, the subscriptions failing to meet the need. For reasons of better efficiency, the association was reincorporated on January 9, 1889.[51] A few days later at the annual elections a new board of officers was elected: Dr. Francis A. Seymour, president; H. W. Mills, vice president; M. L. Wicks, secretary; A. B. Clapp, treasurer.[52]

Dr. Francis A. Seymour, a charter member and first vice president of the Los Angeles YMCA, had for many years served the association devotedly. Educated at the University of Louisville and the Kentucky Medical School, Seymour served the Union Forces during the Civil War as surgeon and chief executive of the Jefferson General Hospital. After the war, he was appointed professor of physiology at his alma mater, where he remained until coming to Los Angeles in 1880. His practice in Los Angeles was limited to diseases of the throat and lungs, a specialty on which he frequently contributed articles to medical journals. In 1885 he became president of the Los Angeles County Medical Association, and throughout his lifetime he continued to be associated with many medical and philanthropic societies in Southern California.[53]

Shortly after its reincorporation, the association, in a desperate need of funds, secured a loan of $35,000 from the San Francisco firm of Balfour, Forman and Guthrie at the rate of 10 percent interest! This, however, aggravated the problem, for quarterly loan and interest payments soon came due. It was finally resolved by the board that henceforth no loans for building purposes would be incurred by the association, and no further work on the building would be contracted unless money was immediately available. As soon as the first floor of the building was completed in May, portions of it were immediately rented. A month later the second floor was partially completed, and the association moved in. Rent savings from the temporary facilities used at the opera house, plus funds gained from the leasing of the Second Street building, were added to the building fund.[54]

The ills of the association between 1888 and 1891 were largely the result of the panic which almost paralyzed business activity in Los Angeles. Beginning in the early part of 1888, prices on real estate started dropping, marking the end of the period of the Great Boom. Prices, however, fell more than they had risen. Gone were the bands, barbecues, glib auctioneers, and the crowds of eager buyers.[55] In their place remained the ghost cities and the thousands who bewilderedly attempted to salvage something of their life savings. The YMCA, likewise, attempted to "keep its head above water," but completion of the association building seemed destined to be shelved in a depression period. Pledges to the association were either completely ignored or indefinitely postponed.[56] Money was scarce and interest rates high. Debts accrued during a prosperity period, when money was more easily available, now had to be paid with hard money.

Work on the association building virtually stopped for a period of time. William Mead, the general secretary, for example, was given a promissory note of $1,000, payable in two years with interest at 10 percent, as his salary for the year.[57] Moreover a form letter was devised to send all creditors:

> I am instructed by the Board of Directors of the Young Men's Christian Association to write to you as follows: We find that your bill of —— was audited and allowed ——, 188–. We have no means on hand with which to meet our bills

> at present. Collections on subscriptions being delayed. We have tried to borrow money and have not been able to do so. We will meet all bills outstanding, yours included, at the earliest possible date. We think not later than April 1, 1890. . . .[58]

Measures were also taken to raise funds. Mead was sent to the annual convention in the East to seek loans at a lower rate of interest. When he failed, the state secretary of Iowa, C. G. Baldwin, was employed for the year at the rate of $2,500, for the purpose of raising $25,000 for the association. Towards the end of the year, Mead was given a leave of absence without pay, enabling him to take the paying job of state secretary for a short period. A. P. Chipron was thereupon appointed acting general secretary at the salary of $65 a month.[59]

The opening months of the new year brought no relief, and the association's condition became critical. The Second Street property had been redeemed from the tax collector's sale, and it became increasingly clear that the property on Fort Street and the new building were rapidly slipping out of the association's hands. In order to cope with the crisis, the board appointed a rescue committee, consisting of R. A. Crippen, W. H. Merriman, and C. G. Baldwin, and immediately the plight of the association was laid before the people of Los Angeles.[60] A total of $60,000 was needed to complete the building. The *Times* reported:

> The mortgage debt is 35,000 dollars, floating debt 5,000 dollars, and it will require 20,000 dollars to complete the building. The immediate emergency arises from the fact that on or before April 1st the following amounts must be raised. "On the mortgage, 2,500 dollars; on the interest due and previously advanced, 2,600 dollars; on the floating debt with interest, about 5,000 dollars; the total amount about 10,000 dollars.[61]

Plans for securing the $60,000 necessary for the completion of the building were twofold. First $35,000 in real estate was to be raised by subscription by February 10. If the real estate subscriptions were obtained, a canvass for $25,000 in cash, to be subscribed not later than March 15, 1890, was to be executed.[62] In a period of falling real estate prices, land subscriptions were not especially difficult to raise. But the $25,000 in cash subscriptions presented a real challenge to the association. Victory was attained, however, mainly due to a $10,000 cash subscription obtained by Lyman Stewart from his friend, E. O. Emerson of Titusville, Pennsylvania. Emerson had given the money to Stewart, who was to divide it equally between the Emmanuel Church and the YMCA. But, Stewart, explaining the plight of the association, was granted permission by Dr. Chichester of the Emmanuel Church to pledge the entire amount to the association cause.[63] Needless to say, the $5,000 was to be paid back to the Emmanuel Church when the association was in better financial condition. Soon the Los Angeles *Daily Times* was happy to report:

> The summary published today makes it plain how many have helped us. The cash gifts number 1,683, and the real estate and so forth, 91, and the aggregate is $60,154.90, and the building may be completed soon and begin its work as one of the permanent institutions of Los Angeles.[64]

In the decade immediately preceding the twentieth century, the association advanced to a more permanent position in the society of Los Angeles. Directing the association during the critical period were two men whose ten years' service as important officers greatly shaped the progress made. The first was E. A. Forrester, who was elected president of the board of directors on April 8, 1890, and continued in that position until January, 1900. Forrester had migrated to Los Angeles from his home in Pennsylvania during the height of the Real Estate Boom in 1885. Earlier, Forrester had served as a teacher in New York State, where he arrived shortly after his birth in Bridgeport, Connecticut. In Los Angeles, real estate was Forrester's main activity, being most prominently associated with the extremely successful subdivision of the Westlake Park area. Politically he is remembered for his term as supervisor of Los Angeles County between January, 1890, and January, 1895. Two benevolent interests with which Forrester was closely associated were the YMCA and the First Methodist Episcopal Church, of which he was a trustee for many years.[65]

The second of these two men was Willard D. Ball whose tenure as general secretary began in September of 1890 and lasted through January of 1901. Seeking a more experienced man after Mead had been released, the board of directors screened new applicants for the position of general secretary very carefully. Meeting the requirements was Willard D. Ball of Utica, New York, who was unanimously approved by the board. His wide background in YMCA work marks Ball as the first truly experienced general secretary of the association.[66] Wisely using his experience, he successfully launched the physical education department and notably increased the membership.

Progress on the completion of the association building during this decade moved very slowly and was fraught with various difficulties. There were structural problems in the building plans, leading the board of directors to lose confidence in the architect, E. A. Coxhead, whose services they terminated.[67] Financial difficulties, seemingly omnipresent, continued to plague the association, despite the successful canvass for the completion of the building in 1890. Donors who had eagerly subscribed had sad misgivings regarding the fulfillment of their pledge. In liquidating their real estate subscriptions the association faced further disappointments, for the original valuation could not be obtained in view of declining real estate values. It seemed clear in the early part of 1891 that the association would have to secure a loan for both building and administrative purposes.[68]

The early 1890's were far from gay for the association in Los Angeles. Struggling from one crisis to another and one loan to another, the board of directors determined to keep the association solvent. Soon, however, the YMCA's fortune began to change as the country headed slowly into a prosperity period at the turn of the century, and gradually the association building came to completion. Many original plans regarding interior decorations were laid aside, choosing instead the more practical and less ornate interiors. Instead of new furniture, less expensive used furniture, a good deal of which was donated, was utilized. It is difficult to state categorically when the building was completed, for as late as 1899, the date usually given for the formal completion, portions of the building were being completed and other portions were being repaired.[69]

Among the notable activities of the association during this decade were the launching of the physical education department, the beginning of a juvenile division, and the establishment of the educational facilities.[70] In February, 1892, the association engaged its first physical director, T. Bessing, who held three afternoon and three evening classes, all for the salary of $25 a month.[71] By 1897 an athletic field in Washington Gardens had been secured and the association was well on the way to completing the gymnasium at the downtown building.

The following year under the successful promotion of Professor Roscoe A. Lang, a teacher of physical culture recently engaged, the gymnasium classes became "the largest known in the history of the Association."[72] Among many testimonials to Professor Lang's ability published in an association booklet in 1898 was one by Reverend John R. Jones of the Central Presbyterian Church:

> Since entering the YMCA gymnasium my body has become a more reliable servant of the soul. To all who desire to increase the effectiveness of the body, I do heartily recommend Professor Lang and his gymnasium classes.[73]

Another of the well-wishers in this booklet of testimonials was the general secretary, Willard D. Ball, who reported:

> I wish to express my personal gratification at the beneficial results which I am receiving from my semi-weekly visit to the gymnasium as a member of your class. The pleasing variety of the exercise and the piano accompaniment combine to make the class work especially invigorating and helpful. I go in tired and come out rested.[74]

Authorizing the establishment of a juvenile department early in 1892, the board of directors continued their interest in boys work throughout the entire decade. Holding a successful canvass in early May, the association increased the membership of the youth department to twenty-five. The following year there were sufficient members to warrant the services of a physical director who held classes for boys three afternoons a week.[75] Camping trips and outing excursions were part of the activities of this department. By the turn of the century plans were being made for the purchase of a summer resort, clearly attesting to the mounting interest of boys work.[76]

Having its genesis in the early part of the decade, the educational department was soon enthusiastically hailed as one of the most important aspects of the association's work. Beginning inauspiciously with classes in reading, writing, and arithmetic, the education department, by the turn of the century, included such specialties as shorthand, various shop classes and even delved into the academic disciplines by hiring Samuel E. Wells as a Shakespearean reader.[77] Fully $50 a week was being spent on teachers' salaries by the association at the end of the decade.[78]

President William McKinley's campaign promise of 1900 of "a full dinner pail" to all Americans appeared to be fulfilled, for with the dawning of the twentieth century came a period of prosperity. The association in Los Angeles, which had successfully weathered a rather bitter storm, was now thinking in terms of expansion when the annual election of officers on February 5, 1900, produced some unexpected fireworks. Heretofore presidents of the association had been elected unanimously and unopposed. It appeared at this time that the incumbent, Forrester, would again be re-elected, but before his name could be placed in nomination, George W. Parsons nominated J. Ross Clark for president. At this point, Forrester declined to have his name placed in nomination.[79]

Within a year the resignation of both General Secretary Willard D. Ball and Physical Director Roscoe Lang were received and accepted by the association. Mr. Ball accepted the position of general secretary of the Cincinnati association while Roscoe Lang advanced to the general secretaryship of the Santa Cruz association.[80] Putting forth every effort to secure a new experienced general secretary, the board of directors engaged the Reverend William Cleaver as acting secretary in July of 1901. Beginning in September a new physical director, C. H. Price, was employed by the association at the salary of $1,000 a year, this being almost twice the starting salary of the early physical directors of the association.[81]

The new board of officers, with the exception of Vice President D. H. Edwards, were re-elected intact for the next five years. In 1901 the board of officers consisted of J. Ross Clark, president; George W. Parsons, vice president; Frank Monroe Porter, secretary; and Arthur H. Voight, treasurer. These officers served until 1905. Frank M. Porter, having served as secretary from 1892 and rendering important legal assistance, was commended by the board and made a life member.[82] Oldest member and treasurer of the association for the longest period of time was Arthur H. Voight. Affiliating with the association a week after its organization, Voight worked indefatigably as treasurer and as member of several committees. Recognizing his ability, the membership continued Voight in the office of treasurer for twenty years. In 1902 the board of directors unanimously passed a resolution commending highly the devoted service of Arthur Voight.[83]

J. Ross Clark, sixth president of the association, arrived in Los Angeles in 1892. He was a successful banker and copper mine owner in Montana. Born April 10, 1850, in Connellsville, Pennsylvania, young Clark struck out for Montana early in life to seek his fortune. In Los Angeles he was associated with banking, railroading, and sugar refining, being vice president of the Los Alamitos Sugar Company and director and vice president of Citizens Bank of Los Angeles. It was during his presidency of the association that plans were formulated for a vigorous canvass in order to finance a new association building.[84]

1902 was a banner year for the association. In a progress report following the annual meeting at which the entire board was re-elected, all departments pointed to the great success of the association and the treasury announced a balance of $1,095 since the last report.[85] Additionally outstanding progress was made by the educational department, the enrollment for the previous year in the various classes being 408 men.[86] In making his annual report, Clifford N. Hand stated:

> Only nine Association night schools in the entire United States surpass the enrollment of Los Angeles although 37 cities having night schools in their Associations have a larger population. None of the Associations in the cities the size of Los Angeles have schools as large as ours. San Francisco, with three times the population, has but a little more than half our enrollment, while St. Louis, 5 times our size, has but 22 more students.
>
> We offer our courses in 28 different branches, embracing business, political, industrial, scientific, language, music and miscellaneous subjects. Twenty-three teachers are employed from amongst the best educators in the city.[87]

The pattern was the same for the rest of the departments, and the association could feel justly proud of its success and with the knowledge that it was providing its maximum service to the youth of Los Angeles.

Thus in the first twenty years of its existence the Los Angeles YMCA had become an integral part of the social fabric of the city. Many of the most prominent business and professional leaders were recruited as directors and gave competent direction to this local expression of an international humanitarian movement. And in the fields of adult education, recreation, relief, and boys work the YMCA was a leader among the eleemosynary agencies of the constantly growing city of Los Angeles.

NOTES

1. L. L. Doggett, *A History of the Young Men's Christian Association* (New York, 1919), I, 39.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 117 ff.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

4. Robert G. Cleland, *A History of California: The American Period* (New York, 1923), p. 285 ff.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 441.

6. "Memoirs of S. I. Merrill." In possession of Charles Arthur Merrill of Santa Barbara, California.

7. *Ibid.*

8. The Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church South was located on the east side of Spring Street between 1st and 2nd streets. Careful search has been unproductive in uncovering the address of this church. In 1886, however, the Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church was located at 442 S. Fort Street.

9. The evidence for this date is based on factual items. The first is Mr. Merrill's memoirs where he indicates that he helped found the Los Angeles YMCA within a month after his arrival on December 24, 1881. He further states that the first anniversary celebration was held in January, 1883. The second is the Los Angeles *Daily Times* article of January 30, 1883, reporting the first anniversary celebration of the association.

10. Los Angeles *Daily Times*, February 28, 1882.

11. *Ibid.*, May 31, 1882.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Los Angeles City and County Directory* (Los Angeles, 1883).

14. Los Angeles *Daily Times*, April 4, 1882.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*, June 14, 1882.

18. *Ibid.*, January 30, 1883.

19. "Memoirs of S. I. Merrill"; Los Angeles *Daily Times*, April 23, 1883.

20. S. I. Merrill's letters in possession of Charles Arthur Merrill of Santa Barbara.

21. Los Angeles *Daily Times*, April 27, 1883.

22. S. I. Merrill's letters.

23. Los Angeles *Daily Times*, July 10, 1883.

24. S. I. Merrill's letters.

25. Located on the southwest corner of First and Spring streets.

26. *Los Angeles City and County Directory* (Los Angeles, 1885).

27. Rodman Willoughby, *History of the Bench and Bar of Southern California* (Los Angeles, 1909), pp. 129-30.

28. *An Illustrated History of Los Angeles County, California* (Chicago, 1889).

29. Los Angeles *Daily Times*, January 6, 1885.

30. *Los Angeles County and City Directory* (Los Angeles, 1886).

31. YMCA notes and booklet *Association Men.*

32. Los Angeles *Daily Times,* February 24, 1886.

33. *Ibid.,* February 24, 1886.

34. *Ibid.,* November 4, 1886.

35. *Ibid.,* April 15, 1887.

36. *Ibid.,* October, 1886.

37. *Ibid.,* February 23, 1887.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.* His name is not extant.

40. The lot was located on Fort Street, 150 feet south of Second Street.

41. Los Angeles *Daily Times,* June 2, 1887. It is quite probable that the first branch of the association was organized in March of 1887, but few records of the early period have survived, making it difficult to document. An article in the Los Angeles *Daily Times* on March 10, 1887, however, suggests the organization of a branch at the University of Southern California:

"The General Secretary of the Los Angeles YMCA met yesterday with a number of students from the University for the purpose of completing the organization of a college branch of the Association. The branch begins with twenty-four members, a good set of officers and hopeful prospects. A room in the building for their exclusive use has been promised...."

42. *Ibid.,* December 7, 1887.

43. *Ibid.*

44. William A. Spaulding, *History of Los Angeles City and County* (Los Angeles, 1931), II, 441-442.

45. *The Watchman,* XIV (February 1, 1888), 3.

46. *Ibid.*

47. *The Watchman,* XIV (April 15, 1888), 6.

48. *Ibid.*

49. *The Watchman,* XIV (September 15, 1888), 7.

50. *Ibid.*

51. Board of Directors Minutes in possession of Los Angeles YMCA, January 22, 1889.

52. *Ibid.*

53. George L. Cole, M.D., *Medical Associates of My Early Days in Los Angeles* (Los Angeles, 1930), p. 47.

54. Board of Directors Minutes, May 28, 1889. The property and building on Second Street apparently had been purchased by the association a few years earlier. No evidence has been found to substantiate this. Later minutes speak of leasing and selling the property.

55. Cleland, *History of California,* p. 444.

56. Board of Directors Minutes, July 9, 1889.

57. *Ibid.*

58. *Ibid.*, November 12, 1889.

59. *Ibid.*, October 3, 1889.

60. *Ibid.*, January 25, 1890.

61. Los Angeles *Daily Times*, January 2, 1890.

62. *Ibid.*

63. *Ibid.*

64. *Ibid.*, March 19, 1890.

65. J. M. Guinn, *Historical and Biographical Record of Southern California* (Chicago, 1902), pp. 128-129.

66. Board of Directors Minutes, August 16, 1890.

67. *Ibid.*, November 18, 1890.

68. *Ibid.*, March 5, 1891.

69. *Ibid.*, June-December, 1899.

70. *Ibid.*, February 23, 1892.

71. Frank M. Porter, *History of the Los Angeles YMCA* (1907). Fragments in possession of the YMCA in Historical File.

72. Board of Directors Minutes, August 22, 1898.

73. YMCA Brochure, 1898.

74. *Ibid.*

75. Porter, *History of the Los Angeles YMCA.* The physical director's name was William Wallace and might be classed as the first Boys' Secretary of the Los Angeles Association.

76. Board of Directors Minutes, April 5, 1900.

77. *Ibid.*, March 27, 1899.

78. *Ibid.*, August 18, 1899.

79. *Ibid.*, February 5, 1900.

80. *Ibid.*, January 29, 1901; June 1, 1901.

81. *Ibid.*, July 26, 1901.

82. Board of Directors Minutes, January 10, 1905. Mr. Porter wrote a history of the Los Angeles YMCA at the request of the association. One copy was placed in the cornerstone at the dedication of the present Downtown Branch building. In December, 1956, the metallic box under the cornerstone was opened and the contents removed. The only known remaining copy of Porter's history kept in the cornerstone was exposed to weather and virtually destroyed. The other contents were also badly damaged. Porter subsequently became a judge in the city and dean of the University of Southern California School of Law.

83. Board of Directors Minutes, January 10, 1905.

84. Notes in historical file of the Los Angeles YMCA.

85. Los Angeles *Daily Times*, January 15, 1902.

86. Board of Directors Minutes, January 13, 1902.

87. *Ibid.*

To California on the Sarah Sands: Two Letters Written in 1850

by L.R. Slawson

Edited, with an Introduction,
by Russell E. Bidlack

Like nearly every other American community, the small town of Ann Arbor, Michigan, contributed her share of adventurers to the California Gold Rush. During the spring of 1849, one Ann Arborite went by way of the Cape, another attempted the Isthmus Route but died at sea, while three small groups set out across the Plains. Of these ten Overlanders, two died before reaching Fort Laramie, and a third died shortly after crossing the Rockies. David T. McCollum summarized the experience of the seven survivors in a letter written near Sutter's Fort on October 20, 1849: "After a long and perilous journey of 159 days from Independence to this place, I arrived here last Sabbath, being upwards of three months on the road; suffering hunger and thirst, heat and cold, wet and dry, and at three different times being brought to the borders of the grave."[1]

Despite the misfortunes of the town's Forty-Niners and heedless of their discouraging letters home, twenty-two gold-seekers left Ann Arbor for the land of promise in 1850. One party of six came close to being Forty-Niners, because they actually left Ann Arbor on December 3, 1849.[2] They journeyed east instead of west, however, and took ship passage out of New York. The vessel upon which they sailed was the iron steamer *Sarah Sands*, a 1,400-ton craft built in Liverpool in 1846 which had just been chartered by the Empire City Line to operate between San Francisco and Pamama. The Ann Arbor group were among her forty-one passengers bound for San Francisco.

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One of these Ann Arborites, L. R. Slawson, described their trip in two amusing letters written to L. W. Cole, editor of a weekly newspaper. Cole published these letters in his Ann Arbor *Michigan Argus*, a file of which is now preserved in the Michigan Historical Collections, University of Michigan. Each of Slawson's letters contributes its bit to the history of the great Westward Movement.

Luman R. Slawson was a man in his early thirties in 1850. A brick mason by trade, he was married and the father of an eight-year-old son. Unlike the majority of his fellow adventurers, Slawson was successful in his search for California's gold. On August 29, 1851, L. J. Polhemus, an Ann Arborite who had settled in Sacramento, reported that Slawson was "in good health and spirits" and that he had accumulated "a handsome quantity of the dust."[3]

Slawson returned to Ann Arbor sometime prior to February 14, 1852, for on that date, according to a newspaper account, he gave a public exhibition of the art of gold washing in the courthouse. "He placed five dollars worth of Gold in a pan of dirt, and offered any person all they could pick out with the aid of the naked eye. He then washed the same from the dirt in five minutes."[4]

The *Sarah Sands* left New York for San Francisco on December 13, 1849, and reached her destination on June 5, 1850. Although three other American steamers had preceded her around South America (the *California*, the *Oregon*, and the *Panama*), it was still no simple task to navigate the Strait of Magellan. Slawson and his comrades had a right to consider themselves pioneers on a new and dangerous voyage.

When put into service between San Francisco and Panama, the *Sarah Sands* proved to be too small and too slow to meet the hectic demands of the gold-seekers; in 1851 she was sold to British-Australian interests and sent to Sydney with a load of prospectors bound for the gold fields of Australia. In 1852 she won the distinction of being the first iron steamer to circumnavigate the earth. She served as a troopship in the Crimean War and again during the Indian Mutiny, but on November 7, 1857, she was struck by a severe gale and shortly thereafter caught fire. An explosion followed and she soon became a steaming wreck. She stayed afloat, however, and managed to limp into Port Louis, Mauritius, where she was patched up sufficiently to enable her to steam back to England. There she was converted into a sailing ship, was sent back to India, and, sailing chiefly between Bombay and Suez, continued in service until 1869 when she was wrecked off the Laccadive Islands and became a total loss. "Old Sally," as Slawson affectionately called her, had quite a career![5]

Rio De Janeiro, Jan. 14th, 1850

Friend Cole:—

I write you a line, thinking that a description of this place may be interesting to you and yours. In the first place, I will give you a little of our life at sea. Our Ann Arbor boys are all well—Imus, Goodale, Almendinger, Cornwell, James and myself. We all started from New York on the 12th of December, on the Steam Ship Sarah Sands, to go through the Straits of Magelan [*sic*]. We arrived here on Saturday the 12th of January. We have had a fine passage and a good deal of fun. We crossed the Equinoctial line New Years day, and old Neptune and his wife and two children came aboard and all those who had not crossed the line before had to be shaved or pay 50 cents. I will give you a short description of their performance.

Old Neptune was dressed as King of the Sea—his wife as Queen, and his Children as Nymphs. A chariot was riged out of the gun carriage and trimmed in great style. The Sailors, some 20 in number, were all dressed in disguise, which formed his body guard. One of the Sailors, the largest, was dressed so that he looked like a White Bear. Another was a barber with a long tin razor. Another was a doctor with his medicine. The chariot was drawn around the ship to a place they had fixed with canvass about 12 feet square, and the water in that was two feet deep. The old Bear got into the water, and the one that was shaved was blindfolded and sat on a pole with his back to the water. The doctor would then examine him and make him stick out his tongue, and if he would not the doctor would squeeze his nose until he would open his mouth, and then the barber was ready, with his lather made of paste, to stick the brush into his mouth. The barber would lather his face and shave him with the tin razor, and as soon as he had got through they would take the handkerchief off from his eyes, and then the old Bear would grab him and pull him over backwards into the water and tumble around with him. The old Bear had his match sometimes, and got ducked himself. This performance over, in the evening we had fire works.

We passed a number of ships and met some, but did not speak but one. We have not seen but two whales on our passage, but lots of flying fish and porpoise. This is the finest harbor in the world. We go through the Straits, which is one half mile wide at the entrance. After you get in it is two miles wide and about six miles in length. The main city is on the west of this bay. We went in early in the morning.

They were firing from the forts (six in number) and the men-of-war, in token of the death of the Emperor's son, who died the day before, and his funeral took place on Saturday. I cannot describe it. It had to be seen to give any idea of it. He was one year and a half old—they think he was poisoned. He was buried in Catholic and Military honors. The bishops, priests and monks with their candles 6 feet long—the monks having the top of their heads shaved—forming a procession of some twenty rods long, two deep and having the advance; then the military, the mule company, (not the horse, for I did not see any except those the officers rode, and they reminded me of "Uncle Dave Carrier's" horses), then the soldiers and carriages, making a procession some three miles in length. They did not bury him until twelve o'clock at night, and the bells were ringing all day, some ten or twelve in a church, and nine or ten churches; so you may judge what a noise they made. The ceremonies lasted through the afternoon and was indeed a grand affair.

Rio is rather an insignificant place, the streets are not more than twenty feet wide, and many do not exceed twelve. The most of the houses and stores are only one and two stories high—some are higher, but they are few. They all have good foundations, being built on the rock. There is not a cellar in Rio. The buildings are all built of stone, plastered on the outside, the roofs are made of tile, so that they are fire-proof. The natives are all of them as black as our Indians, and some of them are blacker. There are more Negroes than any other race. It is a sight to see the slaves—they wear nothing but pants, and will carry half a barrel of water on their heads. I wish you had a mixture of our warm weather along with your cold, it would make it very comfortable. I sit on the quarter deck under a canvass, barefooted, bare-headed, and nothing on save my shirt and pants, and the sweat is running down my face in torrents. You ought to see their public garden. It is the grandest thing I ever saw—all as green as summer. We see coffee, cocoa, oranges, lemons, and all the tropical fruits growing—the trees loaded with fruit. I will give you the price of a few things: oranges 10¢ per dozen; cucumbers 1¢ apiece; watermelons 6¢; bananas 6¢ per dozen; potatoes are very cheap, only 8¢ a pound; apples are from 8 to 10 cents apiece.

I look around and all I can see are rocks. There is one they call the sugar loaf, it is very high, and unless the atmosphere is clear, the top of it cannot be seen, and is generally covered with clouds. Sometimes the top of this rock may be seen above the clouds. It is said there was never a person on the top of it. A person to look on shore from the vessel, would think there was not land enough for anything to grow on; but by going ashore it looks very different. There are a good many Americans that live here, and ships from all nations.

Yours, &c.

L. R. SLAWSON.[6]

Sacramento, Aug. 7, 1850

Friend Cole:

I thought I would not write you until I had "seen the elephants." I think I have seen him, and accordingly write. I have been in the mines some seven weeks and am doing very well. It is hard work—not much like laying brick, but the satisfaction of getting your pay in gold and not in "store pay" is something, and as there is no danger of the "bank breaking," you can take out your deposits every day if you work hard. Coleman, Marlow Goodale, Cornwell and myself are together, and will stick together as long as we stay in the mines. I have heard of all the arrivals from Ann Arbor, but have seen but few of them. J. C. Jones has arrived. He stayed at my tent last Saturday night. His brother and J. Howard were about ten miles off—all well. It is very healthy here, but few being sick considering the way they work in the water. We are working about 45 miles from here, on the Weaver Creek. The water is too high yet on the rivers to do anything. There will not be over two months of mining on the rivers on account of water—it never was known to keep high so long. I will give you a little sketch of our passage from Rio, as I wrote you from there.

We left Rio January 22d, had a fine time until off the river Platte—there we had what the sailors call "a buster." It last[ed] only about 36 hours, but it was hard to stand on our taps while it did last—came off fine. We arrived at the straits of Magelan [*sic*] Feb. 8th. The Straits is a hard looking place, similar to the high lands on the Hudson, but wider. It was not very cold, no frost, but we could see mountains of ice. We got through them on the 17th of Feb., and then we had another "smasher," but we had got used to it, and the "Old Sally" went through them like a duck. Went into Valparaiso the 26th; it is a hard looking place, and its looks do not deceive it. I did not go ashore much, as I was working as *Carpenter's mate*. We left the 5th of March, and had fine weather, and arrived at Callao. This is the place which was destroyed by an Earthquake over 100 years ago. The city has not been built up much, but Lima, about six miles out in the country, is a splendid city. We left the 16th and got to Panama the 26th. There was over two thousand persons at this place waiting for a passage. The Sarah Sands passengers had been there six weeks waiting for us to come round. There was a great many sick—some had died. We lived first rate on our passage from New York to Panama. We had fresh meat every day all the way here. The rest of the way we did not fare so well, there were so many on board. We only lost one man on our trip. We left [Panama] the 9th of April, and arrived at Acapulco on the 21st. Very good little harbor but a miserable place—very few homes, most all huts. We left the 24th, and had strong head winds all the way. We got out at sea some 1500 miles and about 200 miles in longitude west of San Francisco got out of coal and had no ballast, and could not reach Montery [*sic*], about 90 miles below San Francisco, but went in a little harbor called San Simeon on the 18th of May. There is no one lives there—not a rancho within 15 miles. We lay there one day, and the captain said he would have to go back to Los Angeles, about 50 miles. But the passengers met and offered their services to fetch wood, and see if we could not get up. We all went at it, and worked two days and got on about 40 cords of wood. Fired up at night and put out—the wind blowed harder than ever, dead ahead. We were out all night—burnt up about two-thirds of our wood; and had not made ten miles on our course—turned about and went back and anchored where we left the night before. As we went in in the morning we saw two Mexicans coming down the mountain on horse back, driving two horses. They came down to the beach and the captain went on shore and bought their horses and sent an express to San Francisco for coal. Before night those Mexicans brought down over 100 horses and sold a good many for $100 apiece. Over 150 of the passengers left and went by land from here, rather than wait for coal, but we stuck to the "old Sally" yet and as it turned out we did well, for those that went across had a hard time. We enjoyed ourselves well, and had sport seeing the Mexicans lasso the beef. The captain made a bargain with them to furnish him with two beeves every day we staid there. They would drive them right down on the beach and lasso them wherever the butcher told them to. They were the fattest and best beef I ever saw, and no wonder, for there is over 20,000 acres of wild oats here, some in the ravines higher than I could reach. We all took our tents ashore and had a time, to see how it would seem when we got to the diggins. Our coal came and we left for good on the 3d of June, after laying here most three weeks, and landed safe and sound at San Francisco the 5th. They all thought we were lost, as they had not heard anything of us since we left Acapulco, but "old Sally" carried us safe. It was six months and two days from the time I left Ann Arbor, a very long passage for a steamer.

San Francisco is a dusty, nasty hole, some good buildings, but the most part tents and small frame buildings. There is a good deal of business done here, and money handled—the last mostly by blacklegs. We left for this place on the 7th and got here on the 8th. The Sacramento river is very crooked and looks along the banks some like the mill dam [on the Huron River near Ann Arbor]. The west side of this place is some like San Francisco, only it is level and very low land. I cannot give you much of a description of the country, as I have not traveled much. From here to where I dig it is very level, and looks like the Lodi plains [in Washtenaw County, Michigan], only more trees, all oak, and the grass all dried up. From where I work it is very mountainous to the Siera [*sic*] Nevada, with a few scattering pines. We have the most pleasant weather here I ever saw. I have never seen a cloud in the sky yet, and we have not yet had any very warm weather. The mines are all full, men are coming and going like bees from a hive. We have dug in one place all the time. Some make their "grub,"—some don't—some make their oz., and some more; those that work and are steady do well, but there are too many here. It will be a hard time here next winter. Many who come here will not get enough to get home with. It costs us about 63 cents a day apiece to live. We cook for ourselves. I will write you again.

Yours,

L. R. Slawson.[7]

NOTES

1. Ann Arbor *Michigan Argus*, December 19, 1849.

2. This party of six was composed of Nelson Imus, wagon and carriage maker; L. R. Slawson and James Coleman, both of whom were masons; Marlow Goodale, druggist clerk; Harvey Cornwell, whose family operated a "woolen factory"; and a young man named Almendinger.

3. Ann Arbor *Washtenaw Whig*, October 15, 1851.

4. Ann Arbor *Michigan Argus*, February 18, 1852.

5. Erik Heyl in his *Early American Steamers* (Buffalo, 1953), pp. 383-84, gives a detailed history of the *Sarah Sands.*

6. Ann Arbor *Michigan Argus*, March 20, 1850.

7. *Ibid.*, October 16, 1850.

A Study of Graduate Research in California History in California Colleges and Universities

(Continued)

By PAMELA A. BLEICH

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES

17.00 MASTER'S THESES

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17.5 Pitt, Leonard. *The Foreign Miners' Tax of 1850: a Study of Nativism and Anti-nativism in Gold Rush California.* 1955.
An investigation of the controversy to exclude, to restrict, or to allow free entry of foreign-born miners into the mining regions. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

17.6 Thoroughgood, Inez. *Mary Hunter Austin, Interpreter of the Western Scene, 1888-1906.* 1950.
A biography with emphasis on the formative literary experience of Austin's first California sojourn. Sources: manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

17.7 Weintraub, Hyman. *The I.W.W. in California, 1905-1931.* 1947.
An investigation of the men, origins, organization, struggles for survival,

activities, and influences on the economic, social, legislative, and political life of California. Sources: documents–government (federal, state), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

17.8 Wielus, Isabel. *Las Fiestas de Los Angeles: a Survey of the Yearly Celebrations, 1894-1898.* 1946.

An account and evaluation of the fiestas prior to 1894 with emphasis on the celebrations held 1894 to 1897 as business promotion schemes. Sources: documents–government (city); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

17.500 Doctoral Dissertations

17.501 Baur, John. *The Health Rush to California, 1870-1900.* 1951.

A survey of the immigration to California for health reasons and of the development of health resorts, health foods, quack doctors, with a study of the effects on population growth and agriculture, etc. Sources: documents–government (federal, state, city), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

17.502 Bingham, Edwin. *Charles F. Lummis and His Magazine.* 1950.

A study of Lummis' efforts to make the *Land of Sunshine*, later *Out West*, a literary, social, and cultural expression of Southern California. Sources: manuscripts; periodicals.

17.503 Bobb, Bernard. *The Viceregency of Antonio María de Bucareli, 1771-1779.* 1949.

Includes a twenty-five-page chapter regarding management of problems emanating from the settlements in Alta California, and establishing and maintaining a good supply system to the colonies. Bobb's paper is a study in Spanish colonial administration. Sources: documents–government (foreign); manuscripts; secondary.

17.504 Dumke, Glenn. *Boom of the Eighties in Southern California.* 1942.

An evaluative description of the real estate boom and its economic, social, and political significance to the development of Southern California. Sources: documents–government (federal, state, county); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

17.505 Greenwaldt, Emmett. *Point Loma, Community in California.* 1949.

A history of the beginnings of the cult movement, Theosophical Society of America under Katherine Tingley, and the establishment of the School for the Revival of the Lost Mysteries of Antiquity at Point Loma to about 1942 and the move of the society to Covina. Sources: documents–nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

17.506 Harmon, Wendell. *History of the Prohibition Movement in California.* 1955.

A study of the origins, motives, pressure groups (Anti-Saloon League, Prohibition Party, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union), and the role of religious temperance groups, 1850 to 1955. Sources: documents –government (federal, state), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

17.507 Marti, Werner. *Archibald H. Gillespie and the Conquest of California, 1846-1847*. 1953.
The role of Gillespie as a United States messenger to Larkin and Frémont, and as a participant in the Bear Flag Revolt, the Battle of San Pascual, and the Battle of the Old Woman's Gun in Los Angeles. Sources: documents –government (federal); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

17.508 Moody, William. *Civil War and Reconstruction in California Politics*. 1950.
California's attitude as reflected on particular issues relating to the sectional conflict in party politics and elections, 1850-1873. Sources: documents–government (federal, state), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

17.509 Rice, William. *Early History of the Los Angeles Star*. 1942.
A study of the newspaper, 1851-1864, as a mirror of Southern California, particularly Los Angeles, cultural life and political, economic and social development. Sources: documents–government (federal, state, county); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals, secondary.

17.510 Richardson, Elmo. *Politics of the Conservation Issue in the Far West, 1896-1913*. 1958.
An analysis of the conservation issue and a study of the political leadership and structure of the Far West when federal policy was in the formative stage and subject to local influences. Includes an annotated list of manuscript collections in Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming which contain material relating to the topic of the paper. Sources: documents–government (federal, state, city); nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

17.511 Rolle, Andrew. *Trading in Golden Lands: a Biography of William Heath Davis*. 1952.
A biography of Davis as shipowner and maritime merchant, trader, civic official, town founder, ranchero, and author during the early American period. Sources: documents–government (federal, state), nonpublic (business, organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

17.512 Rydell, Raymond. *Cape Horn Route to the Pacific with Special Reference to the United States in the Nineteenth Century*. 1948.
A study of the utilization of the route and its significance to westward expansion and national development to about 1914. California is discussed as a part of the China trade, the hide and tallow trade, the whaling industry, missionary travel, the United States Navy activities, gold rush

fever of the forty-niners, and the clipper and steamship trade. Sources: documents–government (federal, state), nonpublic (business); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

UNIVERSITY OF REDLANDS

19.0 Master's Theses

19.1 Beattie, Helen. *An Historical Study of the Social and Political Conditions in San Bernardino Valley and Vicinity during the Civil War Period.* 1936.
A study of the domination of Southern politicians in California at the outset of the war, with emphasis on the extensive immigration of Southerners into San Bernardino Valley, military occupation of San Bernardino, discovery of gold in Holcomb Valley and on the Colorado River, establishment of Fort Mojave, secessionist plots, and activities of the California Column. Sources: documents–government (federal, county); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

19.2 Call, Kenneth. *A Study in Group Support of the Independent Progressive Party of California, 1947-1948.* 1955.
A study of a third political party. Sources: documents–government (federal, state), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

19.3 Darling, Kenneth. *A Study of the Activities of the War Manpower Commission in the Los Angeles Harbor Shipbuilding Industry.* 1952.
An analysis of the problems and the commission's solutions of the control of civilian manpower in Wilmington, California, during World War II. Sources: documents–government (federal), nonpublic (business); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary; other.

19.4 Erickson, George. *From Townsend to McLain: Twenty Years of Pension Planning in California, 1933-1953.* 1953.
A study of the pension movement and an analysis of the techniques used by McLain and the Institute of Social Welfare as compared to other pension planners. Sources: documents–government (federal), nonpublic (organization); periodicals; secondary.

19.5 Frodsham, Noel. *A Study of the Russian-Germans in Fresno County, California.* 1949.
A story of arrival, assimilation, and contributions of the immigrants to the development of Fresno County. Sources: documents–government (federal); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

19.6 Nelson, John. *Louis Robidoux, California Pioneer.* 1950.
A biography with emphasis on Robidoux's Riverside residence and activities as trader, ranchero on the Jurupa land grant, and civic leader, 1796-1868. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

19.7 Owen, Eugene. *The History of the Loma Linda Sanitarium.* 1959.
A history of the region since 1774 with emphasis on the development and growth of the sanitarium by the Seventh-day Adventists' College of Medical Evangelists from about 1902 to 1958. Sources: documents–government (federal, county), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

19.8 Smith, Gerald. *The Influence of the White Man upon the Culture of the Indians of the San Bernardino Valley.* 1939.
Traces the rise of the early Indian culture and the impact of the Spanish and American occupation. Sources: documents–government (federal); periodicals; secondary.

19.9 Waitman, Leonard. *The History of Camp Cady.* 1953.
Traces the development of an obscure water hole to a United States Army camp–its significance to immigrants, freighters, and mail riders, 1765-1884. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

20.0 MASTER'S THESES

20.1 Beach, Frank. *James Alexander Forbes, 1804-1881: British Vice Consul in California, 1842-1850.* 1957.
An account of Forbes' activities as merchant, author, vice consul at Monterey, partner in and manager of the New Almaden quicksilver mine, civic leader, and real estate speculator. Sources: documents–government (foreign, provincial, federal, city); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

20.2 Brown, Rita Marie, Sister. *The History of Immaculate Conception Academy, San Francisco, 1883-1953.* 1953.
The establishment and growth and development of the curriculum, the school activities, and the guild of the academy by the Dominican Sisters of the Queen of the Holy Rosary. Sources: documents–nonpublic (organization); newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

20.3 Courtney, William. *San Francisco's Anti-Chinese Ordinances, 1850-1900.* 1956.
An analysis of the motives, circumstances, significance, and legal deposition of the enactments affecting the legal status of the Chinese. Sources: documents–government (federal, state, county, city); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

20.4 Diggins, John. *Reverend William Gleeson (1827-1903), Historiographer of the Catholic Church in California.* 1951.
A biography of Gleeson with emphasis on his church and community activities in San Francisco as missionary, author, lecturer, linguist, scholar,

and priest. Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

20.5 Feldhaus, Joseph. *The Moragas: Soldiers, Explorers, Founders.* 1950.
A history of the accomplishments of the Moragas, 1776-1823. Sources: documents–government (provincial); manuscripts; secondary.

20.6 McArdle, Mary Aurelia, Sister. *California's Pioneer Sister of Mercy, Mother Mary Baptist Russell.* 1953.
A biography of Mother Russell's life in San Francisco as founder of the order Sisters of Mercy, hospitals, schools, and as a leader in community social welfare. Sources: documents–government (state, city); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

20.7 McSweeney, Thomas. *St. Mary's Cathedral, San Francisco's First Cathedral, 1854-1885.* 1950.
Traces the history of the cathedral as the seat of the bishopric in the diocese and later the archdiocese. Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

20.8 Mahon, Terrance. *The Fifth St. Ignatius Church in San Francisco, California, 1910-1950.* 1951.
Thesis could not be located.

20.9 Miller, Helen Cecilia, Sister. *Myles Poore O'Connor: Pioneer California Philanthropist, 1823-1909.* 1957.
A record of O'Connor's influence on Santa Clara Valley as miner, lawyer, civic leader, promoter of education and culture, state legislator, founder of the O'Connor Sanitarium and the Notre Dame Institute in San Jose. Sources: documents–government (state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

20.10 Natly, Damon. *The Lincoln Administration as Viewed by the California Press, 1860-1865.* 1956.
A survey of editorial opinion and public reaction regarding activities of the administration, unionists, neutralists, and secessionists. Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

20.11 O'Brien, John. *The History of Electric Railroad Transportation in the Napa Valley, California, 1905-1953.* 1953.
A history of the single phase current propelled electric railroad which served passengers in Napa and Solano counties, and handled freight operations for the United States Navy at Mare Island. Sources: documents–government (state, county), nonpublic (business, organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

20.12 Steele, Vincent. *The Society of Mary in California, 1884-1956.* 1958.
A history of the Marianists' religious and educational contributions to the Catholic church in California. Sources: documents–nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

NEW BOOKS

Missionary in Sonora: The Travel Reports of Joseph Och, S.J., 1755-1767. Translated and annotated by Theodore E. Treutlein. (San Francisco, California Historical Society, 1965. 196 pp. $9.00.) Reviewed by Francis Guest, O.F.M.

In 1664 the ban against non-Spanish Jesuits in the Indies was lifted and in the following years numerous missionaries from the Germanies came to help their Jesuit brethren on the northwestern frontier of New Spain. This book, *Missionary in Sonora*, is the journal of Joseph Och, one of the German Jesuits who, in the eighteenth century, followed in the footsteps of Eusebio Kino in Pimería Alta. He arrived in Veracruz in March of 1756 and by August had begun his missionary work at San Ignacio in Sonora. Within ten years he was rendered almost helpless by an acute arthritic condition and, in 1765 or 1766, was compelled to retire to the Jesuit College of Sts. Peter and Paul in Mexico City. There he was caught up in the turmoil of Jesuit expulsion from Spanish dominions in 1767. Racked with pain most of the way, he made an unhappy return to the Jesuit college at Würzburg, where he arrived in September, 1768, and where he died in July, 1773. His *Reports*, an account of missionary life in Sonora and of his travels to and from New Spain, were published in Germany in 1890 and appear in this book for the first time in English. The translator, Theodore E. Treutlein, former student of Herbert E. Bolton at the University of California, has done extensive research in the history of the Jesuit missions in Sonora and is well qualified for the task he has undertaken.

Joseph Och's *Reports* are divided into three sections, namely, the journey to Sonora, and expulsion of the Jesuits, and general observations on Spanish and Indian life in the mission fields of northwestern New Spain.

Och's comments on Spanish life and customs, both in the Old World and in the New, provide many a gem of human interest. He finds fault with the Spanish people for their failure to take advantage of business opportunities, with Spanish officials for graft and greed, with Spanish sea captains for inefficiency, and with Spanish miners for waste and incompetence. But ultimately he gives the Spanish their due: "I must admit that in my fourteen years among the Spaniards I experienced more honor, love, service, generosity, politeness and friendliness than I did during my whole life among my countrymen, brothers, and friends." With the keen eye of an interested traveler he describes the mint in Mexico City and the problems of coinage and currency, the sale and manufacture of cigarettes, the problems of stockmen and miners on the frontier, and the secularization of missions. He dwells at length on almost every aspect of Indian culture: their virtues and vices, their skills and aptitude for learning, their dress, food, drink, dances, medicine, etc.

But the most important part of this missionary's journal is his account of the expulsion of the Jesuits from New Spain. It is one of the most valuable primary sources on the subject and richly deserves translation into English. There is no substitute for the freshness, vividness, and realism of a well-written, firsthand report. Calmly, sadly, with a touch of irony, Och portrays the disastrous results of defamation: the unceremonious invasion of Jesuit colleges and cloisters by Spanish troops, the absurd suspicions of Spanish officials, their feverish but futile search for hidden "treasure," the ill will of some of the rival clergy, the dismay of the laity at the departure of their priests, the painful journey to Veracruz, the hospitality of the friars, the voyage to Spain, the return home.

The translation, inclined toward literal fidelity rather than idiomatic freedom, is occasionally awkward and ungracious. The Latin tags invariably to be found in the personal narratives of eighteenth-century priests are just as invariably left untranslated. More abundant notes to the text might well be appreciated. But these are defects which are not likely to disturb the interested reader of a valuable primary source on eighteenth-century New Spain and the expulsion of the Jesuits.

Francis Guest, o.f.m., a member of the Franciscan Fathers of California and of the Academy of American Franciscan History, is graduate of San Luis Rey College, Saint Louis University, Catholic University, and the University of Southern California. A frequent contributor to the *Quarterly*, Father Guest is currently doing research on the *comisionado* in northern New Spain.

Ships and Narrow Gauge Rails. By Gerald M. Best. (Berkeley, Howell-North Books, 1964. 153 pp. $6.00.) Reviewed by Lynwood Carranco.

Rail and steamship fans will welcome the story of this not too well known railroad, the Pacific Coast Railway, the steamship lines and the other railroads belonging to the Pacific Coast Company. This book is a history of the Pacific Coast Company, a rail-marine operation which covered the West Coast from Alaska to San Diego. The company, which included narrow gauge, standard gauge, and steamships, was an important factor in the growth of the region around San Luis Obispo and the West in general.

The book is divided into three parts: the development of the Pacific Coast Railroad, the Steamships, and the Pacific Coast Company in Washington. Over 50 percent of the book deals with Part I—The Development of the Pacific Coast Railway. The company developed from a horse-drawn railway at San Luis Obispo into a full-fledged narrow gauge steam railroad which ran along the wharf to serve the steamships. The railroad helped the region to expand and served Santa Maria at the height of the oil boom. Competition with the Santa Maria Railroad, a standard gauge line, buses, and improved highways forced a gradual deterioration and eventual extinction of what had once been a major factor in the development of the region. This first part is interestingly written and well researched.

Although thin, steamship fans will welcome Part II—The Steamships, which offers many pictures of the ships which sailed from Mexico to Alaska. Local Humboldt Bay ship enthusiasts will find pictures of the *Corona* and *Pomona* which used to sail into Humboldt Bay. The *Corona* was wrecked on the north spit of the entrance to Humboldt Bay on March 1, 1907. Until only two years ago, a steel mast, with parts of cable rigging still visible, still protruded skyward from the sand, marking the spot where the vessel went aground. Members of the local coast guard station, near the entrance to Humboldt Bay, cut the celebrated landmark because it interfered with radar reception! The *Pomona* struck an uncharted rock off Fort Ross, California, a year later–March 17, 1908.

Chapter III–The Pacific Coast Company in Washington–has a good coverage of the third rail operation at Seattle, where the company consolidated a group of railroads in that area to meet the transcontinental rails of the Union Pacific and to feed the Pacific Coast Company's steamships.

The Pacific Coast Railway played a vital role in the development of the Central coast, and its history is a monument to the pioneers who built it, and to the generations of railroad men who ran it. The Pacific Coast Company's flourishing and profitable transportation empire reached its peak in 1915. Today only a vestige of that once extensive route is in operation near Seattle.

Ships and Narrow Gauge Rails contains many locomotive and ship rosters, maps, and approximately 95 photographs. Howell-North book publishers deserve a pat on the back for offering the picture-storybooks to the public for $6.00.

LYNWOOD CARRANGO, a contributor to scholarly historical journals, is on the staff in the division of language arts at Humboldt State College, Arcata, California.

Committee of Vigilance: Revolution in San Francisco, 1851. By George R. Stewart. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1964. 339 pp. $5.00.) Reviewed by David A. Williams.

Through the years, Californians have come to expect at periodic intervals a product of the pen of George R. Stewart, professor emeritus of the University of California and a fellow of the California Historical Society. Anticipation has been heightened by lasting impressions of earlier Stewart books such as *Ordeal by Hunger* and *The California Trail.* The present study is much like these predecessors, well written, grounded in solid research, and highly readable. Stewart fans will be pleased with *Committee of Vigilance, Revolution in San Francisco, 1851.*

Complete with bibliographical note, attractive illustrations, and an index, though lacking the well organized footnotes of a monograph, this account of the committee will become a standard item in the libraries of those interested in the history of California. Its widespread acceptance will reflect the wealth of information to be found within it as well as the organization of the study and the clarity of the narrative. Perceptive readers will appreciate the manner in which the manuscript collection of the committee has been examined, the newspapers combed, and the reminiscences of leading figures utilized to re-create this colorful and dramatic episode of California's past.

The reliance upon the manuscripts left by the committee is one of the great strengths of this book but it is also apparently responsible for one of its weaknesses. That weakness is manifested in an inclination to make of the committee more than what it was, and to accept in a somewhat uncritical fashion, what the committee said about itself and its accomplishments. Thus in the title we find *Revolution in San Francisco*, which seems a somewhat extravagant phrase to use to describe the committee. In the narrative itself, the committee is generally described in approving terms although from some of the detail, it is obvious that the committee made many of the errors common to ad hoc groups which attempt to dispense with the courts and judicial process. Thus the committee became an instrument for private ends when it became involved in the disappearance of the personal property of Angelina Duclos, "friend" of Felix Argenti, a leading member (pp. 136-37). On other occasions it resembled something from comic opera, e.g., the escape of Dab the Horsethief (pp. 213-14). That its organizers and leaders included a number of men who were somewhat poorly qualified to dispense justice is to be seen in the membership of Sam Brannan and J. D. Stevenson. Even the accomplishments of the committee were fleeting and somewhat uncertain. Whether San Francisco was a measurably better place in which to live after the Vigilance Committee of 1851 is very much an unanswered question.

This, then, is not the definitive study of the Vigilance Committee of San Francisco, 1851, but it is a substantial contribution which will be of considerable value to anyone interested in this turbulent page of San Francisco's history.

David A. Williams is an assistant professor of history at the California State College, Fullerton.

Railroads of Nevada and Eastern California: Volume II—The Southern Roads. By David Myrick. (Berkeley, Howell-North Books, 1963. 933 pp. $12.50.) Reviewed by Donald Duke.

It seems strange that someone should dedicate himself to the railroads of a particular state, but David F. Myrick has, and although he tells more about Nevada's railroads than most may care to know, he does it in such a captivating manner that one soon shares his interest.

Continuing in the same spirit of meticulous research, *Volume II—The Southern Roads* expands the railroad history of Nevada set forth in *Volume I—The Northern Roads.* Volume II is also of large format and beautiful in production. It has 450 pages of coated stock, with a like amount of interesting photographs of mines, trains and towns, many of them quite rare. This edition is consecutively numbered as a continuation of Volume I, and carries the index for the two part series.

Railroads of Nevada—Volume II is actually a history of the southern desert region as it is a railroad book. The history of the mines and the railroads are synonymous. Re-creating the vigorous times at such interesting places as Tonopah, Goldfield, and Rhyolite, the last mining bonanza area in the United States has been beautifully carried out. The growth and development of the towns, the mines, and transportation advanced such colorful railroad names as Bullfrog-Goldfield Railroad, Tonopah & Tidewater Railroad, and the Las Vegas & Tonopah Railroad. While most of the railroads never reached their names, they did carry plush Pullmans and a fine list of gourmet items on the dining car menu. When the mines played out, the towns soon reverted to ghostlike creations, and the right-of-way returned to the desert.

Myrick also takes you into the varied and spectacular section of eastern California reaching from Death Valley to Mojave, and has succeeded in ferreting out historical data and photographs of the borax boom never before chronicled between hard covers. Not forgotten is the railroad inspired by Senator Clark entitled The San Pedro, Los Angeles & Salt Lake Railroad. For it was this piece of standard gauge track reaching from Salt Lake to Los Angeles that brought the Union Pacific Railroad into Southern California over its own rails. Its earlier years were besieged by flash floods and financial difficulty; yet it finally formed the last of the transcontinental connections.

Included herein are all the little railroads which never reached the main line, yet served the mines for which they were intended. For the rail fan the volume includes rosters of locomotive specifications, and the builder and tractive efforts, while the abundance of fine maps will award the historian. The reader could well use this as a guide to the railroads and the mines as he wanders among the ghost towns of the past.

Railroads of Nevada—Volume II is a studious, responsible and widely respectable account of Nevada's historic past, and Myrick's attire is the most conventional of historians. This is a two volume series which belongs on the shelves of every western collector.

Donald Duke is a foremost authority on United States railroads. Mr. Duke's latest study is the *Santa Fe: Steel Rails through California.*

The Ranch That Was Robbins': Santa Catalina Island, California. By Adelaide LeMert Doran. (Los Angeles, privately printed, 1964. Distributed by The Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale. 214 pp. $5.00.) Reviewed by Anna Marie Hager.

Mrs. Doran's revised work exhibits a thorough and comprehensive treatment of important materials as her invaluable bibliography indicates. It is in the appendices that unusual care has been taken and will prove far more of value than the very modest purchase price indicates. Here she has excerpted pertinent paragraphs, applicable only to the island, items from Vizcaíno's diary, Bolton's learned works, numerous little-known letters of the Civil War period in which Catalina played her part, good line-map reproductions, and transfer of title histories.

Of great charm are the pages devoted to "Catalina in Song" and "Catalina in Poetry."

Rarely encountered is the excellent history of "Catalina Island through the Picture Medium," which has been placed into several interesting categories; namely, "Glass-bottom Boats," "Stage Coach," "Yacht, Tuna and Pilgrim Clubs," "The Isthmus," "The Interior," "People," "Flora and Avifauna," "Coves and Harbors," etc. This photographic bibliography covers some eleven pages.

Not only is this study richly embellished with bibliographical lore in the appendices, but an additional listing of sources appear at the end of each chapter.

The inclusion of one of the fine modern maps issued by the United States Navy Oceanographic Office, such as their Number 5101 (June 15, 1964), an invaluable map representative of the Southern California waters, or of the Coast and Geodetic Surveys Map Number 5142 (1960) depicting the relationship of Catalina to the Mainland and to the adjacent Channel Islands, would have been immeasurably valuable to the uninitiated to Southern California waters. True it is, that the "1602 Chart of the American Coast, from Cape San Lucas to Cape Mendocino," appears on page 153 and is well reproduced, but this reviewer feels the inclusion of a more modern and up-to-date map of the island would have been a fortunate addition to the excellent map of the island proper which appears on pages 212-213.

All in all this will become a valued research tool and appreciation for Mrs. Doran's efforts in producing so much correlated information on Santa Catalina Island will grow with the years.

ANNA MARIE HAGER, a renowned California bibliographer, is president of the Historical Society of Southern California.

The Frontier Experience: Readings in the Trans-Mississippi West. Edited by Robert V. Hine and Edwin R. Bingham. (Belmont, California, Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1963. 418 pp. $6.95.) Reviewed by Michael Thurman.

The Frontier Experience offers a cogent and diversified series of readings to both student and teacher of the American West. Following the preface and an introductory chapter entitled "Understanding the American West," the authors present fourteen separate themes which, by their own admission, reflect the "complex and protean and diverse" elements of frontier life and character during the nineteenth century. The reputation and popularity of contemporary writers coupled with well known authorities of the present era seem convincing enough to warrant wide distribution of this volume.

The principal actors and protagonists of the West are brought into full focus in this work: we are gratified to travel in counsel with Francis Parkman and Thomas Jefferson and then there are stirring narratives from James Ohio Pattie, Josiah Gregg, Stephen Austin, and "the Pathfinder" Frémont. Without faltering in the list of celebrities, the editors include such epic heroes as Juan Bautista de Anza, Brigham Young, Grenville Dodge, and Theodore Roosevelt. By way of contrast, one also finds the more subtle and lesser known figures of the frontier—the likes of Chief Joseph, George B. McClellan, Joseph G. McCoy, John Wesley Powell, and Hamlin Garland. Finally, the list of contributors includes some of our most honored historians of the present century: Walter P. Webb and Paul Horgan, Herbert Bolton and Frederick Jackson Turner, Henry Nash Smith and Bernard DeVoto.

Turning to the authors' principal objective, we are quickly appraised that "The themes and hypotheses of this book of readings are based on two traits—and their opposites: the individualistic and the innovative threads of frontier experience versus the co-operative and the traditional threads." In essence, it seems quite obvious that the emphasis and interpretations in this volume are deeply grounded within the framework of Frederick Jackson Turner's signal contribution, *The Frontier in American History.* The editors of the present volume may have unconsciously pre-empted something of the proper chronology and regional setting of the West from Turner's "Contributions of the West to American Democracy" because, as the master inveighs:

> The last chapter in the development of Western democracy is the one that deals with its conquest over the vast spaces of the new West. . . . Men who had become accustomed to the narrow valleys and the little towns of the East found themselves out on the boundless spaces of the West dealing with units of such magnitude as dwarfed their former experience [p. 11].

Like almost all other specialized fields or arbitrary areas, the Trans-Mississippi West has had its share of textbooks, biographies, and documentary series fashioned in the pattern of journals and diaries. But unlike the European fields or some areas of United States history, the history of the American West has been noticeably lacking in a comprehensive anthology. In its own special way, *The Frontier Experience* seems to correct this deficiency, at least for the period of the nineteenth century.

The product of Professors Hine and Bingham is unique in several ways and seems characteristic of Turner's own fascination with new ideas and broad interpretations. There is, for example, neither map, photograph nor illustration in *The Frontier Experience*, and where many volumes hinge upon the style and forcefulness of the author's pen, the present work represents scarcely fifty pages with their remarks and captions. And for the sake of emphasis, many an authority will surely wring his hands in despair for the none-too-casual omission of important themes, e.g., the "State-Making Process" or the "Formulation of a Consistent Indian Policy" or "Religious and Missionary Efforts toward Colonization" and why not "Pastoral California" during the Mexican period?

In conclusion, while there may be a few rabid critics who are content to dismiss *The Frontier Experience* as more of the same academic hedging about what

Turner meant or what he left out in his interpretations of the West, this reviewer finds much to be praised in the work. It should be of great value to younger scholars—many of whom are not yet "indoctrinated" with the value of original materials or for those who dislike reprints or the paperback series. Professors and those in the associated teaching professions will find this volume a most readable and highly representative supplement for courses in the American West.

Michael E. Thurman is an assistant professor of history at East Texas State College.

Landmarks of Riverside and the Stories Behind Them. By Tom Patterson. Foreword by W. W. Robinson. (Riverside, California, Press-Enterprise Company, 1964. 192 pp. $5.50.) Reviewed by Don Meadows.

The history of the Riverside area goes back to the days when Rancho Jurupa was granted to Juan Bandini in 1838. The rancho was a stopping place for mountain men, followers of the Mexican Trail and travelers who were looking for a place to live in California. John W. North started the city in 1870 when he organized the Southern California Colony Association and bought land on the south bank of the Santa Ana River. Through the years the community progressed through adobes, timber, bricks, stucco and reinforced concrete. Customs and culture changed with the building materials. Many events, major and minor, left their imprint on the modern city. Two events in particular made Riverside famous: the planting of the first Washington Navel orange trees in California and the building of the Mission Inn by Frank Miller. The planting of the orange trees produced more than blossoms, and the Mission Inn created an abundance of manufactured romance. Tom Patterson in *Landmarks of Riverside* has handled all the events with an objectivity that is enlightening and satisfying.

The book is created around a scattering of photographs and local lore. There are some great pictures of the early days of the community, some valuable stories of the region that would be lost if not so well recorded, and a rough chronology of Riverside history. As a record of landmarks it succeeds remarkably well, but there is something lacking for the reader who wants to grasp the historical pageant of events. The landmarks are not always framed in a clear pattern of history. The story of progress from adobes to stucco is written to fit the pictures. The weakest feature of the book is the assumption that the reader is familiar with Riverside and is cognizant of street names and buildings and their relation to each other. A modern map showing the location of the landmarks in their present day settings would add tremendously to the pleasure and understanding of the person who knows the city only as an infrequent visitor.

Tom Patterson is a staff member of the Riverside *Press-Enterprise* and the materials used in the book are revised feature articles that have appeared in that newspaper. The product is an attractive, well-assembled, well-printed and bound, and a well-written contribution to local archives. W. W. Robinson, the best of regional historians, who grew up and attended school in Riverside, has written a foreword to the book which he ends with an ideal summary: "Certainly all Riversiders can find relish and satisfaction in this book, whether historically inclined or not. It is history in capsule form, easy to take, and pleasant in flavor."

DON MEADOWS is the curator of the Orange County Historical Society.

Book Notices

By Anna Marie and Everett Hager

A surfeit of photographically illustrated volumes continue to emerge from the nation's presses. Notable as the forerunner of this type of picture-book publisher is the Superior Publishing Company of Seattle. *Western Ghost Town Shadows,* by Lambert Florin (1964. 190 pp. $12.50), joins three earlier ghost town items from this press. "Ghost town fever" could easily be Florin's middle name as this, his fourth such study, depicts the weary derelicts of once rip-roaring townsites of the Old West. *Old Forts of the Southwest,* by Herbert M. Hart (1964. 192 pp. $12.50), is his second photo-history on forts but covers the period 1850-1890. His earlier volume *Old Forts of the Northwest* published in 1963 serves as a companion piece to the present work. *Picture Gallery Pioneers, 1850 to 1875,* by Ralph W. Andrews (1964. 192 pp. $12.50), a well-arranged photo-history, spans the years of the survey photographers, 1867-1873, and of the gallery era enjoyed in the cities along the Pacific Coast from Seattle to San Diego and in some of the Rocky Mountains and the Western Plains districts. A collection of fine photographs, well arranged and reproduced, and a good working index are included in each of these publications. Although a goodly number of the photographs are of well-known scenes or faces, these works do contain much merit and appeal.

The Totem Pole Indians, by Joseph H. Wherry (New York, Wilfred Funk, Inc., 1964. 152 pp. $6.50), is another addition to the ever growing collection of beautifully illustrated pictorial histories. End paper maps of Totemland include a fine key by ethnic nation areas as well as descriptions regarding making, meaning, and purposes of the totem pole, an earlier day status symbol.

A Guide to the Military Posts of the United States, 1789-1895, by Francis Paul Prucha (Madison, The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1964. 178 pp. $7.50), spans the brief chronological history of the expansion and contraction of the military frontier. Prucha's work is equipped with excellent maps, an alphabetical catalogue of posts, forts, camps, barracks, and cantonments; it is also enriched with an extensive bibliography and twenty-eight fine photographs. Wisconsin's Historical Society can take pride in issuing such a study.

Joyce L. Kornbluh's *Rebel Voices: An I.W.W. Anthology* (Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 1964. 420 pp. $12.50) is a large book, filled with flamboyant illustrations and reproductions of newspaper articles, posters, photographs, and circulars used during the rise and fall of this iconoclastic group which made such spectacular impressions on the newspaper presses throughout the United States during 1905 to 1924. The greater portion of Kornbluh's work dwells extensively on the years 1905-1918 and graphically points up attitudes of members and nonmembers, as well as the type of poetry, songs, and essays composed by I.W.W. members. It is a pungent, thought provoking study that will prove a valued addition to the complex history of the development and rise of labor unions and of the field of industrial relations and labor education in this country.

Always welcomed are publications which, despite their slant to local or religious scenes, are the only available source material in the field on their particular topic. Dr. Richard T. DuBrau has compiled the annals of the development of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod on the Pacific Coast in his *Romance of Lutheranism in California* (Concordia Publishing House, n.d. 280 pp. $2.50. Available from Southern California District Office, 5146 E. Olympic Blvd., Los Angeles 22). Important material pertaining to the church's growth will be found in this work as well as numerous photographs of various buildings, church centers, and congregations.

In observance of Alpine County's centennial year a noteworthy item entitled *One Hundred Years of History, Recreation, Lore in Alpine County, California, 1864-1964* (Campbell, Craftsman Typographers, 1964. 72 pp. $1.50) was issued. A local history, brought together and prepared with care, using many fine little-known photographs in a decorative manner, the project was aided by the support of merchants of Alpine and her adjacent communities.

Another anniversary item is *The Changing Scene: A 100-Year Picture History of Southern California*, by W. W. Robinson. Written for the Pioneer Savings and Loan Association's observance of the centennial of California's savings and loan industry, it is published by The Ward Ritchie Press of Los Angeles.

E. I. Edwards, authority on the Great American Desert, has prepared a unique history entitled, *Freeman's: A Stage Stop on the Mojave* (Glendale, La Siesta Press, 1964. 48 pp.). Well illustrated, it is a valuable addition to the lore of the Mojave.

The University of California Press has published a rich source-item for students of the foibles and follies of the gold seekers of '49. *The Songs of the Gold Rush* is ably edited, with an introduction, by Richard A. Dwyer and Richard E. Lingenfelter (Berkeley, 1964. 200 p. $3.50).

With the approach of summer and autumn attractive communities along our coastal plain beckon invitingly, and the Sunset Travel Book on *The Monterey Peninsula*, by William Davenport (Menlo Park, California, Lane Books, 1965. 80 pp. $1.95), is a gem to guide one to all the infinite loveliness of this historic and colorful peninsula.

California Condor: Vanishing American, by Dick Smith and Robert Easton (Santa Barbara, McNally & Loftin, 1964. 122 pp. $3.50), is a book for all conservationists and ornithologists. Brooks Atkinson in his *Introduction* aptly states that "the condor provides a line of communication to the past . . . the California condor is living geology." Here in this small compact volume is an illuminating history of these great giants of the sky. At present only some sixty of these birds are known to exist within a remarkably small area of Central California.

For those fascinated by maps and their history a small publication from England, now available from Dawson's, 550 South Figueroa, Los Angeles, will prove rewarding. *California As An Island: A Geographical Misconception* (London, The Map Collectors' Circle, 1964. 28 pp. text, 100 plates. $5.00) is Number 8 of the series which was published in order to foster international appreciation of the printed map and co-operation from the members of those interested in cartography. The one hundred maps depicted cover the years 1625 to 1770.

An anthology of tales spanning *The Best of True West*, edited by Joe Austell Small (New York, Julian Messner, Inc., 1964. 318 pp. $6.95), includes contributions made to *True West* magazine by Homer Croy, J. Frank Dobie, Nell Murbarger, Walter Prescott Webb, and others.

The outstanding item in Book Notices is certainly C. Gregory Crampton's *Standing Up Country: The Canyon Lands of Utah and Arizona* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf and University of Utah Press, 1964. 198 pp. $15.00). A magnificent large eight and one-half by eleven inch book, illustrated with 16 full-color photographs and 110 in black and white, and including two fine maps, it is a splendid contribution to the majesty and remarkable colorings found in these canyons. A strong bibliography and a good index add additional strength to Crampton's noteworthy research which has created a particularly remarkable pictorial and textual history of these hauntingly beautiful canyon lands.

RECENT CALIFORNIANA

A Check-List of Publications Relating to California

Compiled by Noel Stowe

BOOKS

Aboriginal California: Three Studies in Culture History. Berkeley, University of California, 1963. $3.50

Adler, Pat. *The Broad-Axe, Los Angeles, Tuesday, August 31, 1875: A Campaign Newspaper.* Glendale, California, La Siesta Press, 1964. $1.00

Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *California Pioneer Register and Index, 1542-1848, Including Inhabitants of California, 1769-1800, and List of Pioneers.* Baltimore, Regional Publishing, 1964. $10.00

Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *Register of Pioneer Inhabitants of California, 1542-1848.* Los Angeles, Dawson's, 1964. $3.75

Barker, M. A. R. *Klamath Grammar.* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1964. $6.00, paper

Bateson, Charles. *Gold Fleet for California: Forty-niners from Australia and New Zealand.* East Lansing, Michigan, Michigan State University Press, 1964. $7.50

Bixler, W. K. *A Dozen Sierra Success Stories.* Tahoe Valley, California, Sierra Publications, 1964. No price indicated.

Buranelli, Vincent. *Josiah Royce.* New York, Twayne, 1964. $3.50

The California Missions: A Pictorial History. Editorial Staff of Sunset Books. Menlo Park, California, Lane Book Co., 1964. $12.75

Carpenter, Edwin H. *Printers and Publishers in Southern California, 1850-1876: A Directory,* Glendale, California, La Siesta Press, 1964. $2.50, paper; $5.00, cloth.

Chase, Harold S. *Hope Ranch: A Rambling Record.* Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara Historical Society, 1963. $6.00

Cowan, Robert Ernest, and Robert Grannis Cowan. *A Bibliography of the History of California, 1510-1930.* Los Angeles, privately printed, 1964. No price indicated.

Cowan, Robert Ernest. *The Forgotten Characters of Old San Francisco.* Los Angeles, The Ward Ritchie Press, 1964. $5.95

Crouch, Winston, *et al. Agricultural Cities: Paradoxes in Politics of a Metropolis.* Los Angeles, Department of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles, 1964. No price indicated.

Dana, jr., Richard Henry. *Two Years Before the Mast.* Edited by John Kemble. Menlo Park, Lane Publishing Co., 1964. $24.75

Dawson, Lawrence, and James Duty. *Chumash Indian Art.* Santa Barbara, The Art Gallery, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1964. Apply.

Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of California, Los Angeles. *Archaeological Survey Report, 1962-63.* Los Angeles, privately printed, 1963. $4.00

Fehrenbacher, Don Edward. *A Basic History of California.* Princeton, Van Nostrand, 1964. $1.45, paper

Hammond, George P., ed. *The Larkin Papers, Volume X.* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1964. $10.00

Hardy, Leroy Clyde. *California Government.* New York, Harper, 1964. $1.75, paper

Harris, Joseph P. *California Politics.* Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1965. $1.35, paper

Hudson, Tom. *Three Paths along a River: The Heritage of the Valley of the San Luis Rey.* Palm Desert, California, Desert-Southwest Publishers, 1964. $6.00

Jacopi, Robert. *Earthquake Country.* Menlo Park, Lane Book Co., 1964. $5.95

Jewell, Donald P. "Archeology of the Oroville Dam Spillways," *Archeological Report 10.* Sacramento, Division of Beaches and Parks, 1964. Apply.

Jones, J. Roy. *History of the Medical Society of the State of California.* Sacramento, The Historical Committee of the Sacramento Society for Medical Improvement, 1964. No price indicated.

Lamar, Howard, ed. *The Cruise of the Portsmouth, 1845-1847: A Sailor's View of the Naval Conquest of California by Joseph T. Downey.* New Haven, Yale University Press, 1963. $1.75

Lesure, Thomas B. *All about California—the State that has Everything.* Greenlawn, New York, Harian Publications, 1964. $2.00

Maisel, Sherman J., *et al. California Housing Studies.* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1963. $1.50, paper

Meadows, Don. *The House of Bernardo Yorba.* Orange County History Series, Volume 4, Number 1. (Orange County Historical Society) Santa Ana, California, 1963. $2.00

Morgan, Dale, and James Scobie. *Three Years in California: William Perkins Journal, 1849-1852.* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1964. $8.50

Nasatir, A. P., ed. *A French Journalist in the California Gold Rush: The Letters of Etienne Derbec.* Georgetown, California, Talisman Press, 1964. $12.50

National Research Council, Maritime Cargo Transportation Conference. *San Francisco Port Study, Volume 1.* Washington, D.C., National Academy of Science, 1964. $12.00

Northern California (2nd edition). Edited by Sunset Books and Sunset Magazine. Menlo Park, California, Lane Book Company, 1964. $1.95, paper

Nunis, Doyce B., ed. *The California Diary of Faxon Dean Atherton, 1836-1839.* San Francisco, California Historical Society, 1964. $12.50

Orange County Library Association. *Union List of Expensive, Out of Print and Specialized Reference Books in Libraries in Orange County*, 2nd edition. Costa Mesa, California, Herbert Hoffman, 1963. $6.50 paper

PATTERSON, TOM. *Landmarks of Riverside and the Stories Behind Them.* Riverside, California, Press-Enterprise Company, 1964. $5.50

POLAND, ORVILLE F. *Public Employment in California.* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1964. $1.75, paper

REICHLEY, JAMES, *et al. States in Crisis: Politics in Ten American States, 1950-1962.* Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1964. $6.00

ROBERTS, RUSSELL ARTHUR. *Dawson's Book Shop: Publishers of Western Americana and Patron of the Book Arts.* Los Angeles, Anderson, Ritchie & Simon, 1964. Apply, Dawson's Book Shop.

ROBINSON, EUGENE. "A House Floor in Napa County, California," *Archeological Report 10.* Sacramento, Division of Beaches and Parks, 1964. Apply.

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RUSSELL, J. H. *Heads and Tails . . . and Odds and Ends.* Los Angeles, Litho and Printing Company, 1963. $4.50

SALAZAR, FRANCISCO. *The Gold of Old Hornitos.* Fresno, California, Saga-West Publishing Company, 1964. $1.00

SMITHERS, ADELAIDE. *The Coming of Justice to California.* Edited by John Galvin. San Francisco, John Howell, 1963. $7.50

State of California, The Resources Agency, Department of Parks and Recreation, Division of Beaches and Parks. *California Historical Landmarks.* 1964. $1.00

STEWART, GEORGE. *Committee of Vigilance: Revolution in San Francisco, 1851.* New York, Houghton, 1964. $5.00

Southern California. Edited by Sunset Books and Sunset Magazine. Menlo Park, California, Lane Book Co., 1964. $1.95, paper

TALBERT, THOMAS., *et al. The Historical Volume and Reference Works,* volume II, Orange County. Whittier, California, Historical Publishers, 1964. $25.00

THOMPSON, LAFAYETTE FRESCO, WITH CY RICE. *Every Diamond Doesn't Sparkle.* New York, McKay, 1964. $4.50

TOOLEY, R. V. *California As An Island.* London, Map Collector's Circle, 1964. $5.00

TURNER, HENRY A., AND JOHN A. VIEG. *The Government and Politics of California.* New York, McGraw-Hill, 1964. $5.95

Weber, Francis J. *California's Reluctant Prelate: The Life and Times of Right Reverend Thaddeus Amat, C.M.* Los Angeles, Dawson's, 1964. $6.75

White, Emil, ed. *Big Sur Guide to the . . . Circle of Enchantment.* Big Sur, California, privately printed, 1964. $1.50

Yee, Chiang. *The Silent Traveller in San Francisco.* New York, Norton Publishers, 1964. $12.50

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Book of Remembrance

1964

Carl E. Ahlberg
David Powell Andross
Constant Auger
George Washington Baker
Edward A. Balling
Dale Lincoln Blanton
John F. Brady
Leon Ransom Brooks
Viola Mavis Hudson Brooks
Walter D. Brown
Mildred Campbell
Henry Coffin Carlisle
Marjorie Susan Carlton
Edward J. Carrillo
James Frederick Chappell
Gilbert Oliver Clayton
Mary Adeline Robinson Clayton
Dorothy Metzner Cookson
Oscar Cooper
Harry Innes Thornton Creswell
Ralph Herbert Cross
Eliza Paulina Maria Ygnacia Clara Elizalde Curletti
Lucie E. Northup Dobbie
Della Kruger Dunbar
Houghton Durbrow
June Wiley Durbrow
Ephraim Dyer
Mabel C. Edgar
Florence Hellman Ehrman
Mark C. Elworthy
James N. Eschen
Nellie Judge Etcheverry
Morton R. Gibbons
Alma M. Gillig
Allan Deane Glendenning
Mary Rust Goddard
Katherine Margaret Goodman
Elise Wenzelburger Graupner
Helen Louise Stadfeld Gray
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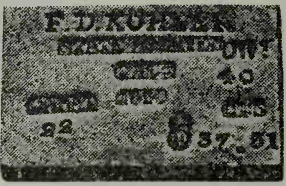

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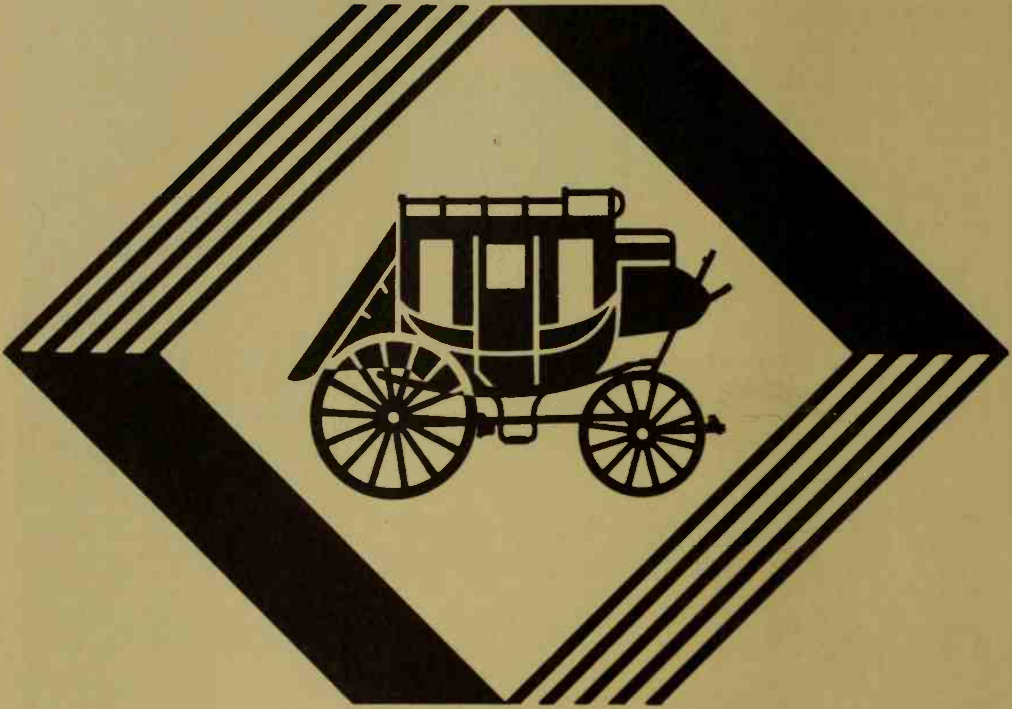

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California Missionaries (1769-1848)
By MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M.

Union Loyalty of
California's Civil War Governors
By LEO P. KIBBY

The Two Californias
During World War II
By MICHAEL MATHES

A Study of Graduate Research in California History
in California Colleges and Universities—Part VI
By PAMELA A. BLEICH

DECEMBER 1965

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Volumes One to Forty
1922-1961

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Biographical Data on the California Missionaries (1769-1848)

By Maynard Geiger, O.F.M.

In the roster of the Franciscan missionaries of Upper California who founded and maintained the twenty-three[1] missions and several asistencias within the boundaries of the present state, there appear 142 names. All of these were bona fide missionaries. Less than a dozen other Franciscans appeared in California during the same period but they were engaged in matters subsidiary to the mission enterprise. Such were Pedro Font, the chronicler of the Anza expedition, and José Nocedal, a ship chaplain. These are not considered for the purposes of this article.

The average student and interested reader of California mission history would be hard put to it in identifying many of the names found in the biographical digest at the end of this article. All of course are familiar with the great names of Serra, Crespí, Palóu, Lasuén, and perhaps Boscana and Durán. Others again may be familiar with the missionaries of the particular mission of the area of their neighborhood. However, serving the leaders of the mission enterprise and abetting the labors of the explorers, builders, musicians, and linguists of renown, were hosts of lesser known men who labored faithfully and long, whose figures did not emerge as prominently in history as the better known ones either because of the short period of their stay in California, the inconspicuous nature of their work, or their inability to rise above mediocrity in service. Still the fact remains that all of these men were pioneers and

---

Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., a recipient of the John Gilmary Shea Award of the Catholic Historical Association and of the Henry R. Wagner Award of the California Historical Society, is an outstanding authority on the Franciscan Missions in California. After translating and editing *Palou's Life of Fray Junípero Serra,* he authored the *Life and Times of Junípero Serra* and the *Pictorial History of the Physical Development of Mission Santa Barbara.*

even the least of them contributed something to the general welfare and progress. As such they are worthy of remembrance.

For the past quarter of a century, during his researches in Europe and America, the author has kept his eyes open for any pertinent material concerning any of these 142 missionary friars. He always had in mind the publication of a biographical dictionary concerning them. This volume has been written and now awaits a publisher. In the main these biographies are fairly complete. However, there is no point in a flawless perfectionism especially since some necessary documents have been lost or dispersed. On the other hand some of the men themselves upon return to Spain and Mexico were either exclaustrated or sought individual secularization, leaving no trace of their whereabouts. In the tables to follow, the author has given the known data obtainable up to the present, adding to the published knowledge of the past and correcting a number of errors in the process.

Biographical data on the individual friars is often widely scattered in sources, and these at times have to be pieced together painfully. Only one of these friar-missionaries became the subject of an extensive biography, Junípero Serra, in the well known *Relación histórica* by Palóu. Only one other friar, Antonio Peyri of San Luis Rey, left in his own handwriting a short autobiography.[2] Fathers Vicente Francisco Sarría and Mariano Payeras, commissaries-prefect respectively in 1817 and 1820 composed succinct biographies of the California missionaries then under their jurisdictions, at the same time evaluating each man with regard to his missionary aptitude.[3] At times, additional material may be found in the official registers of the provinces or colleges to which the missionaries belonged. The *reseñas* or emigration documents concerning the friars, issued in Spain just before the missionaries' departure, also help to round out valuable details especially in the matter of the missionaries' physical description.[4] The lists of missionaries serving the missions which had to be sent to the governor of the territory annually give the location of each missionary at the end of each year.[5] The mission registers of baptisms, marriages, and deaths are a prolific source of information showing their presence and activity at a definite mission in a given time. Other documents lacking, these are the very best sources for indicating the proximate date of arrival at or departure from a mission by the first or last entry of the missionary on their pages. Moreover, these registers also reveal the presence of missionaries from other missions and serve to show their progress from a port to the mission of their assignment and from their mission to a port for return to Mexico or Spain, or again their presence at another mission at the time of a dedication, making a spiritual retreat there, or simply taking the opportunity of a change in locale to break the monotony of living in a single isolated place.

In 1904 Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., celebrated mission historian, visited the California missions and other archival centers where these registers were then located. With prodigious industry he examined each entry of the more than sixty-three registers,[6] noting down in separate books the date of arrival at and departure from a mission of each missionary as well as the presence of missionaries from other missions. This was tedious but basic work, as this writer can testify from a similar study of the Santa Barbara Mission Registers. The notes that Engelhardt gathered are preserved in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives. He used these extensively in the composition of the biographies of the friars he appended to his histories of the individual missions he wrote.[7]

The widely scattered sources on the missionaries' biographies are found in Rome, Spain, Mexico, and California principally. The principal archives are those of the Propaganda in Rome; the Archive of the Indies at Seville; the archival centers of the Franciscan provinces of Spain; the Archivo General de la Nación, the Biblioteca Nacional, and the Biblioteca del Museo Nacional, Mexico City; together with what remains of the documents of the former colleges and provinces of colonial Mexico which is often too little.[8] In California, the bulk of the biographical material is to be found in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives; the Archbishop's Archives, San Francisco (The Alexander Taylor Collection); the Bancroft Library; and the mission registers which are scattered in the dioceses to which the missions belong.[9]

The conversion and civilization of the Indian tribes of California were committed to the apostolic colleges of San Fernando, Mexico City; Our Lady of Guadalupe, Zacatecas; and Santa Cruz, Querétaro. Of these by far the most important was San Fernando. It sent a total of 127 missionaries into Upper California between 1769 and 1833. Zacatecas gave eleven from 1833 on. Querétaro sent four men to the Yuma missions of Concepción at Ft. Yuma and to San Pedro y San Pablo at Bicuñer. Zacatecas College took over the Fernandino missions from Soledad to Sonoma in 1833. The two Yuma missions were destroyed, and their four missionaries killed in the revolt of July, 1781. All the missions along the coast between San Diego and Sonoma were founded by the Fernandinos between 1769 and 1823.

Through the course of eighty-one years, these 142 missionaries spent about 2,270 man years in their strenuous and noble work, each averaging sixteen years of service in bringing about the incorporation of about one hundred thousand aborigines into Christianity and the Spanish realm, and in attending to the spiritual needs of the conquering Spaniards and Mexicans in pueblos, presidios and ranchos.[10] The greater number of missionaries were born in Spain, the next significant group coming from Mexico. All the Queretarans were Spaniards. All the Zacatecans, save one who was probably born in Ecuador, were Mexicans. Most of the Fernandinos were Spaniards, a few Mexicans, other few coming from the islands of the Caribbean area.

At this writing the origin of six Fernandino friars has not been determined. The Spanish origin of the others may be summarized as follows: from the Franciscan Province of Cantabria there were thirty; next came Catalonia with twenty-two; the Province of Majorca sent sixteen; Aragon supplied fourteen; Burgos and Estremadura each gave seven; Galicia five, Old Castile (Concepción) five; Andalusia (Los Angeles) four; Castile, four; Valencia one. The Province of Santa Elena, Cuba, provided four, the Province of the Holy Gospel (Mexico City) gave one; the Province of the Holy Cross (Caribbean area) one. Thus the missionary friars who evangelized California were a cross section of Spain and of Spanish North America. All of them came to California through the College of San Fernando, some of them returning to their original provinces after their terms of service. A few were "sons of San Fernando" born either in Spain or in America but who became Franciscans initially at the college.

Of the 127 Fernandinos who came to California in the capacity of missionaries, fifty-eight died while serving the missions, the rest returning to the college after their term of service. There some remained until death, while others returned to their provinces in Spain, while still others became members of provinces or other colleges in Mexico. Two of the Fernandinos, Luis Jayme of San Diego, and Andrés Quintana of Santa Cruz, were murdered by the Indians. Of the eleven Zacatecans who came to California, seven returned to Mexico. Two died in California before 1850 while two lived deep into the American period, Fray José María González Rubio and Francisco Sánchez, in 1875 and 1884 respectively.

The Spanish Franciscans who came to the College of San Fernando were required by civil law to serve at least ten years either at the college itself or in its home missions or in the Indian missions of California. This was understandable since their expenses from the day they left their monasteries until they arrived at the college were paid from the royal exchequer. Only one did not travel at royal expense.[11] About the middle of the eighteenth century the computation of the missionaries' time of service started from the day they sailed from Spain.

Not all the missionaries found their work congenial nor were all physically or mentally equipped to meet the grinding routine, the frontier isolation, and the physical and social hardships connected with their labors. Quite a surprising number suffered from ill-health, and some of these had to return to Mexico before the expiration of their terms of service. In most cases doctors were not available and then only in the Monterey area. A lesser number succumbed to mental disturbances. A few died prematurely.

Fifty-six spent less than ten years in the missions, thirty-seven labored in them for from ten to twenty years; twenty-three served from twenty to thirty years; twenty-three more from thirty to forty years; while five served forty years and more. Thus it is clear that the majority served beyond the requirement of the law. Julián López died of consumption after a few months. Ramón Abella had the record in years of service: forty-four.

As in all other departments of life, there were shadows in the relatively small phalanx of these 142 missionaries. By far the greater number persevered with fidelity to their vows of priesthood and Franciscan life. At the top we find the leaders, men of more than ordinary talent, virtue, and ability, who accomplished great things against overwhelming odds, six of whom sacrificed their lives while most of the others were in an exposed position. The greater number may be classed as men of ordinary ability, learning, and virtue. Their characters differed widely from the urbane Lasuén to the somewhat crude Uría; from the serious Durán to the witty and jovial Luis Martínez, from the unpredictable behavior of Gilí to the saintly asceticism of a Sarría.

Peyri and Ripoll became eminent builders, Martínez and Zalvidea outstanding administrators, Arroyo de la Cuesta and Sitjar linguists, Durán and Sancho musicians of note, Boscana an ethnologist.

At the bottom of the list we find a few who fell short of the ideals of their vocation and consequently became misfits in their fields of labor. Only one of the Spanish Fernandinos bears the stigma of immorality, while two others succumbed to alcoholic tendencies at least for certain periods. One of these in melancholic mood after return to Mexico attempted suicide. Two sent to the missions by order of the viceroy but against the wish of their religious superiors acted mischievously and caused disturbances. They were definite misfits and needed psychiatric treatment besides paternal correction. The Zacatecans eleven in number, were proportionately inferior to the Fernandinos. Three had bad reputations morally and in general clerical behavior. Still three others had reputations for extraordinary probity, reaching even in two cases to estimated sanctity.[12]

Upon these men devolved the pioneering work of evangelization and civilization in California. All but two came here because they volunteered. Even the least of them made a sacrifice in so doing. For their contribution to progress and development in what was an uncultivated wilderness and which became a garden spot, they deserve to be perpetually remembered. They bore the burden and heat of the day and the long solitude of night. Never again will California be as primitive, the life as rugged, the situation as difficult as in those early years. It was largely these men who made of California a success story. All tried, most were successful, a few were failures. Each deserves his niche in history.

LIST OF THE FRANCISCAN MISSIONARIES WHO SERVED IN UPPER CALIFORNIA, 1769-1848

Name	*Date of Birth*	*Place of Birth*	*Province-Diocese*	*Country*	*Franciscan Province Membership*	*College*	*Arrival in America*	*Arrival in California*	*Years of Service in California*	*Date of Departure*	*Date of Death*	*Place of Death*	*Missions Served in California*
ABELLA, RAMON	May 28, 1764	Monforte	Zaragosa	Spain	Aragon	San Fernando	June 26, 1795	May, 1798 Santa Barbara	44 years		May 24, 1842	Santa Inés	San Francisco, San Carlos, San Luis Obispo, San Miguel, Purísima, and Santa Inés
ALTIMIRA, JOSE	1787	Barcelona	Catalonia	Spain	Catalonia	San Fernando	1819	Aug. 18, 1820 Monterey	7 years 5 months	Jan. 23, 1828			San Francisco, San Solano, and San Buenaventura
AMESTOY, MARCOS	1778	Treviño	Calahorra	Spain	Catalonia	San Fernando	Aug., 1803	Aug. 14, 1804 S. Francisco	11 years 1 month	Sept. 22, 1815			Santa Bárbara
AMOROS, JUAN	Oct. 10, 1773	Porrera	Catalonia	Spain	Catalonia	San Fernando	July, 1803	Sept. 1, 1804	27 years 2½ mo.		July 14, 1832	San Rafael	San Carlos and San Rafael
AMURRIO, GREGORIO	1744	Bastida	Calahorra	Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando	1770	Aug. 30, 1773 S. Diego	6 years	Autumn of 1779			San Luis Obispo and San Juan Capistrano
ANZAR, JOSE ANTONIO	Before 1793			Mexico	Jalisco	Zacatecas		Early in 1831 S. Diego	23 years	Late in 1854	1874	Mexico	San Luis Rey and San Juan Bautista
ARROITA, FRANCISCO JOSE	Before 1762			Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando	1785	Sept. 1786	c. 10 years	1797	March 5, 1821	Mexico City	San Luis Obispo and Purísima
ARROYO DE LA CUESTA, FELIPE	Apr. 29, 1780	Cubo	Burgos	Spain	Burgos	San Fernando	1804	Aug. 13, 1808 Monterey	32 years 1 month		Sept. 20, 1840	Santa Inés	San Juan Bautista, San Luis Obispo, San Miguel, Purísima, and Santa Inés
BARCENILLA, ISIDRO	1766	San Manes	Palencia	Spain	Concepción	San Fernando	June 26, 1795	Apr. 14, 1797 S. Francisco	7 years 6 months	October, 1804			San José, San Francisco, and San Gabriel
BARONA, JOSE	1764	Villanueva del Conde	Burgos	Spain	Burgos	San Fernando	June 26, 1795	May, 1798 Santa Bárbara	33 years 2 months		Aug. 4, 1831	San Juan Capistrano	San Diego, San Gabriel, San Juan Capistrano, and San Luis Rey
BARRENECHE, JUAN ANTONIO	1749	Lecaroz	Navarre	Spain	Santa Elena Cuba	Querétaro		1779 Fort Yuma	2 years		July 19, 1781 Ft. Yuma	Fort Yuma	Concepción
BOSCANA, GERONIMO	May 23, 1776	Lluchmayor	Majorca	Spain	Majorca	San Fernando	Oct. 24, 1803	June 6, 1806 Monterey	25 years 1 month		July 5, (6), 1831	San Gabriel	Soledad, Purísima, San Luis Rey, San Juan Capistrano, and San Gabriel

Name	*Date of Birth*	*Place of Birth*	*Province-Diocese*	*Country*	*Franciscan Province Membership*	*College*	*Arrival in America*	*Arrival in California*	*Years of Service in California*	*Date of Departure*	*Date of Death*	*Place of Death*	*Missions Served in California*
CABOT, JUAN VICENTE	March 9, 1781	Buñola	Majorca	Spain	Majorca	San Fernando	c. Oct., 1804	Aug. 31, 1805 Monterey	30 years	1835			Purísima, San Miguel, San Francisco, and Soledad
CABOT, PEDRO	Oct. 3, 1777	Buñola	Majorca	Spain	Majorca	San Fernando	Sept., 1803	c. Aug., 1804	32 years 2 months		Oct. 11, 1836	San Fernando	San Antonio, San Miguel, and San Fernando
CALZADA, JOSE ANTONIO	Nov. 24, 1760	Trinidad		Cuba	Santa Elena	San Fernando		Oct., 1787 and May, 1798 Santa Barbara	25 years 4 months	Summer of 1796	Dec. 23, 1814	Santa Inés	San Gabriel, Santa Bárbara, San Luis Obispo, Purísima, and Santa Inés
CAMBON, PEDRO BENITO	1738	Leaya	Galicia	Spain	Galicia	San Fernando	May, 1770	March 12, 1771 and Dec. 9, 1781 S. Diego	19 years	1779 and 1792			San Gabriel, San Francisco, and San Buenaventura
CARNICER, BALTASAR	Before 1774			Spain	Aragon	San Fernando		Apr. 14, 1797 S. Francisco	11 years	1808			San Miguel and San Carlos
CARRANZA, DOMINGO	Before 1775			Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando		May 7, 1798 Santa Barbara	12 years 7 months	Late in 1810			Santa Cruz, San Luis Rey
CATALA, MAGIN	Jan 29, 1761	Mont-blanch	Catalonia	Spain	Catalonia	San Fernando	1785–1786	July, 1793 Monterey	37 years 5 months		Nov. 22, 1830	Santa Clara	Santa Clara
CATALAN, BENITO	Before 1773			Spain	Aragon	San Fernando		June 18, 1793 S. Francisco	3 years 6 months	Jan., 1800			San Antonio
CAVALLER, JOSE	1740	Falcet	Catalonia	Spain	Catalonia	San Fernando	1769–1770	Mar. 12 1771 S. Diego	18 years 9 months		Dec. 9, 1789	San Luis Obispo	San Carlos and San Luis Obispo
CIPRES, MARCELINO	c. 1769	Huesca	Aragon	Spain	Aragon	San Fernando	c. 1794	Aug. 24, 1795 Monterey	15 years 7 months		Jan. 31, 1810	San Miguel	San Antonio and San Luis Obispo
CORTES, JUAN	c. 1771	Torrejón de Ardoz	Toledo	Spain	Castile	San Fernando	July 26, 1795	June 18, 1796	9 years 4 months	Nov. 5, 1805			San Gabriel, San Fernando, and Santa Bárbara

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CRESPI, JUAN	March 1, 1721	Palma	Majorca	Spain	Majorca	San Fernando	Apr., 1750	May 14, 1769 S. Diego	11 years 7 months		Jan. 1, 1782	San Carlos	San Diego and San Carlos
CRUZADO, ANTONIO	1742	Alcarazejo	Andalusia	Spain	Los Angeles	San Fernando	Apr., 1750	March 12, 1771 S. Diego	33 years 7 months		Oct. 11, 1804	San Gabriel	San Gabriel
CUEVA, PEDRO DE LA	Before 1773			Spain	Estremadura	San Fernando	1803	Aug. 14, 1804 S. Francisco	2 years 3 months	Nov., 1806			San José
DANTI, ANTONIO	1760	San Pedor	Catalonia	Spain	Catalonia	San Fernando	1786	July, 1790 Monterey	4 years 4 months	Nov., 1796			San Francisco
DIAZ, JUAN	May, 1736	Alazar	Andalusia	Spain	Estremadura	Querétaro	1763	1780 Ft. Yuma	c. 1 year		July 17, 1781	San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer	San Pedro y San Pablo
DULANTO, ANDRES	1774	Suzarra	Burgos	Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando	Aug., 1803	Aug. 15, 1804 Monterey	4 years 4 months		Dec. 11, 1808	Santa Bárbara	San Juan Bautista and Santa Bárbara
DUMETZ, FRANCISCO	1734	Palma	Majorca	Spain	Majorca	San Fernando	1770	Mar. 12, 1771 S. Diego	39 years 10 months		Jan. 14, 1811	San Gabriel	San Diego, San Carlos, San Buenaventura, San Fernando, and San Gabriel
DURAN, NARCISO	Dec. 16, 1776	Castellón de Ampurias	Catalonia	Spain	Catalonia	San Fernando	1803	June 6, 1806 Monterey	40 years		June 1, 1846	Santa Bárbara	San José and Santa Bárbara
ESCUDE, JAYME	July, 1799	Gandesa	Catalonia	Spain	Catalonia	San Fernando	July, 1810	July 15, 1812 S. Diego	10 years 5 months	c. Dec., 1822			San Luis Rey and Santa Cruz
ESPI DE VALENCIA JOSE	Jan. 3, 1763	Valencia	Valencia	Spain	Valencia	San Fernando	c. Sept., 1786	July, 1793 Monterey	7 years c. 7 months		Jan. 16, 1800	Cuba	San Antonio, Soledad, Santa Clara, and San Francisco
ESTENEGA, TOMAS ELEUTERIO	1790	Anzuola	Vizcaya	Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando	1810	Aug., 1820 Monterey	c. 26 years		Early in 1847	San Fernando	San Carlos, San Miguel, San Francisco, San Rafael, San Gabriel, and San Fernando
ESTEVAN, PEDRO DE SAN JOSE	1754		Castile	Spain	Santa Elena, Cuba	San Fernando		Jan., 1795 Monterey	25 years 8 months	Oct., 1820			San Antonio, San Diego, and San Gabriel

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FAURA, JOSE	c. 1773	Barcelona	Catalonia	Spain	Catalonia	San Fernando	1798	May 7, 1798 Santa Bárbara	c. 11 years 6 months	End of 1809			San Luis Rey and San Juan Capistrano
FERNANDEZ, GREGORIO	c. 1754	Burgos	Burgos	Spain	Burgos	San Fernando	1785	c. June, 1794	11 years 5 months	Nov. 6, 1805			San Luis Obispo and Purísima
FERNANDEZ, JOSE MARIA	Before 1773			Spain	Castile	San Fernando		June, 1796 S. Francisco	1 year 3 months	Sept., 1797			San Francisco
FERNANDEZ, MANUEL	1767	Tuy	Galicia	Spain	Galicia	San Fernando	1793	1794	c. 4 years	Late in 1798			Santa Clara, San Francisco, and Santa Cruz
FERNANDEZ ULIBARRI, RAMON	Febr. 28, 1773	Ali	Calahorra	Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando	Aug., 1803	July 22, 1809 Monterey	11 years 11 months		June 16, 1821	San Gabriel	San Juan Bautista, Santa Inés, Purísima, and San Fernando
FIGUER, JUAN	c. 1742	Anento	Aragon	Spain	Aragon	San Fernando	Oct., 1770	Nov., 1772 S. Diego	12 years 1 month		Dec. 18, 1784	San Diego	San Gabriel, San Luis Obispo, and San Diego
FORTUNI, BUENAVENTURA	1774	Moster	Catalonia	Spain	Catalonia	San Fernando	c. July, 1803	June 6, 1806 Monterey	34 years 6 months		Dec. 16, 1840	Santa Bárbara	San José, San Diego, San Luis Rey, and San Buenaventura
FUSTER, VICENTE	1742	Alcañiz	Aragon	Spain	Aragon	San Fernando	1770	Aug. 30, 1773 S. Diego	27 years 1½ months		Oct. 21, 1800	San Juan Capistrano	San Diego, San Gabriel, San Juan Capistrano, and Purísima
GARCES, FRANCISCO HERMENEGILDO	Apr. 12, 1738	Morata del Conde	Aragon	Spain	Aragon	Querétaro	1766	Fall of 1780 Ft. Yuma	c. 1 year		July 17, 1781	Ft. Yuma	Concepción
GARCIA, DIEGO	1744	Araal	Andalucia	Spain	Los Angeles	San Fernando	c. 1786	1787	c. 10 years	Fall of 1797			San Francisco, Soledad, and San Antonio
GARCIA, JOSE	Before 1775		Cantabria	Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando		Aug., 1800 Monterey	8 years 3 months	Nov., 1808			San Luis Rey and San Diego
GARCIA DIEGO Y MORENO, FRANCISCO	Sept. 17, 1785	Lagos	Jalisco	Mexico		Zacatecas		Jan. 15, 1833 Monterey and Dec. 10, 1841 S. Diego	7 years 2½ months	Nov. 17, 1835	Apr. 30, 1846	Santa Bárbara	Santa Clara and Santa Bárbara

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GARCIA-RIOBO, JUAN ANTONIO*	1740	Malpica	Galicia	Spain	Galicia	San Fernando	1770	June 2, 1782 S. Francisco	4 years 5 months	c. Nov. 7, 1786			San Carlos and San Gabriel
GIL Y TABOADA, LUIS	May 1, 1773	Santa Fe	Guanajuato	Mexico	Michoacán	San Fernando		Late in 1801	32 years c. 2 mo.		Dec. 15, 1833	Santa Margarita	San Francisco, San José, Santa Inés, Santa Bárbara, Purísima, San Rafael, Santa Cruz, and San Luis Obispo
GILI, BARTOLOME	Febr. 16, 1759	Artá	Majorca	Spain	Majorca	San Fernando	Early in 1788	1791	c. 3 yrs. 6 months	End of 1794			San Antonio, Soledad San Luis Obispo, and San Diego
GIRIBET, MIGUEL	Before 1763		Catalonia	Spain	Catalonia	San Fernando	c. Febr., 1785	c. Aug., 1785	14 years c. 5 mo.	Jan. 16, 1800			San Francisco and San Luis Obispo
GOMEZ, FRANCISCO	1729	Castillo de Laya	Burgos	Spain	Concepción	San Fernando		Apr. 11, 1769	1 year 3 months	July 21, 1771			San Diego
GONZALEZ, FRANCISCO	Before 1774			Spain	Santa Elena, Cuba	San Fernando		Apr. 14, 1797 S. Francisco	8 years c. 7 mo.	Nov. 6, 1805			Santa Cruz
GONZALEZ RUBIO, JOSE MARIA DE JESUS	June 6, 1804	Guadalajara	Jalisco	Mexico	College of Zapopan	Zacatecas		Jan. 15, 1833 Monterey	42 years c. 9 mo.		Nov. 2, 1875	Santa Bárbara	San José and Santa Bárbara
GONZALEZ DE IBARRA,** FRANCISCO	1782	Viana	Navarre	Spain	Burgos	San Fernando	1819	Aug., 1820 Monterey	c. 22 years		1842	San Luis Rey	San Fernando, San Luis Rey, and San Diego
GUTIERREZ, JOSE MARIA	Before 1805			Mexico		Zacatecas		Jan. 15, 1833 Monterey	11 years 10 months	Nov., 1844			San Solano, San Francisco, and San Antonio
GUTIERREZ, ROMUALDO		Tequisquiapan		Mexico		San Fernando		Aug., 1804	2 years 3 months	Nov., 1806			Santa Inés and San Buenaventura
HORRA, ANTONIO DE LA CONCEPCION	1767	San Martín de Rubuales	Osma	Spain	Concepción	San Fernando	June 26, 1795	Apr. 17, 1797 S. Francisco	c. 6 mo.	1797			San Miguel
IBAÑEZ, FLORENCIO	Oct. 26, 1740	Tarazona	Aragon	Spain	Aragon	San Fernando	Apr., 1770	Aug. 9, 1801 Monterey	17 years 3 months		Nov. 26, 1818	Soledad	San Antonio and Soledad

* Also known simply as Riobó
** Also known simply as Ibarra

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ITURRATE, DOMINGO	Before 1777			Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando		Aug. 22, 1800	9 years 2 months	Oct., 1809			San Juan Bautista
JAYME, ANTONIO	Jan., 1757	Palma	Majorca	Spain	Majorca	San Fernando	c. July, 1794	1795	32 years 2 months		Dec. 1, 1829	Santa Bárbara	San Carlos, Soledad, and Santa Bárbara
JAYME, LUIS	Oct. 18, 1740	San Juan	Majorca	Spain	Majorca	San Fernando	1770	Mar. 24, 1771 S. Diego	4 years 7 months		Nov. 5, 1775	San Diego	San Diego
JIMENO, ANTONIO		Mexico City	Mexico	Mexico		San Fernando		Sept., 1827	31 years 4 months	Jan., 1859		Mexico	Santa Cruz and Santa Bárbara
JIMENO, JOSE JOAQUIN	Nov. 30, 1804	Mexico City	Mexico	Mexico		San Fernando		Sept., 1827 S. Diego	28 years 5 months		Mar. 14, 1856	Santa Bárbara	San Luis Rey, San Luis Obispo, Santa Cruz, Santa Inés, San Gabriel, and Santa Bárbara
JUNCOSA, DOMINGO	1740	Cornudella	Catalonia	Spain	Catalonia	San Fernando		Mar. 12, 1771 S. Diego	3 years 3 months	June 8, 1774			San Carlos, San Luis Obispo, and San Antonio
LANDAETA, MARTIN	1760	Cortezubi	Vizcaya	Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando	c. 1786	1791	c. 7 years	1798			San Francisco
LASUEN, FERMIN FRANCISCO DE	June 7, 1736	Vitoria	Cantabria	Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando	1759–1760	Aug. 30, 1773 S. Diego	29 years 10 months		June 26, 1803	San Carlos	San Gabriel, Monterey, San Juan Capistrano, San Diego, San Luis Obispo, and San Carlos
LAZARO, NICOLAS	Before 1782	Burgos		Spain	Burgos	San Fernando		Aug. 31, 1805 Monterey	c. 2 years		Aug. 18, 1807	San Diego	San Fernando and San Diego
LOPEZ, BALDOMERO	Before 1777			Spain		San Fernando		1791	c. 5 years	Summer, 1796			Santa Cruz
LOPEZ, JACINTO	Before 1776			Spain	Castile	San Fernando		Monterey July 28, 1799	2 years 2 months	Oct. 8, 1801			San Antonio and San Juan Bautista
LOPEZ, JULIAN	1761	Carbonero	Segovia	Spain	Concepción	San Fernando	June 26, 1795	1797	c. 3 months		July 15-16, 1797	San Carlos	San Carlos
MARINER, JUAN	Before 1762		Catalonia	Spain	Catalonia	San Fernando	Early in 1785	1785 Monterey	c. 14 years		Jan. 29, 1800	San Diego	San Diego
MARQUINEZ, MARCELINO	May, 1779	Treviño	Vizcaya	Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando	1804	July 28, 1810 S. Francisco	7 years 7 months	Mar. 12, 1818			San Francisco and Santa Cruz

Name	*Date of Birth*	*Place of Birth*	*Province-Diocese*	*Country*	*Franciscan Province Membership*	*College*	*Arrival in America*	*Arrival in California*	*Years of Service in California*	*Date of Departure*	*Date of Death*	*Place of Death*	*Missions Served in California*
MARTIARENA, JOSE MANUEL	1754	Guipozcoa		Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando	c. 1788	1794	c. 11 years	1805			San Antonio, Soledad, San Juan Bautista, and San Francisco
MARTIN, FERNANDO	May 26, 1770	Robledillo	Ciudad Rodrigo	Spain	Estrema-dura	San Fernando	June, 1810	July 6, 1811 S. Diego	27 years 3 months		Oct. 19, 1838	San Diego	San Diego
MARTIN, JUAN	Jan. 12, 1770	Villastor	Aragon	Spain	Aragon	San Fernando	c. Sept., 1793	Early in 1794	30 years, several months		Aug. 29, 1824	San Miguel	San Gabriel, Purísima, and San Miguel
MARTINEZ, LUIS ANTONIO	Jan. 7, 1771	Briebes	Oviedo	Spain	Castile	San Fernando	1795	May 9, 1798 Santa Bárbara	31 years 11 months	Mar. 30, 1830			San Luis Obispo
MARTINEZ, PEDRO ADRIANO	Before 1774		Galicia	Spain	Galicia	San Fernando	1797	Apr. 14, 1797	7 years c. 3 months	After July 1, 1804			Santa Clara, San Juan Bautista, and San Miguel
MARTINEZ DE ARENAZA, PASCUAL*	c. 1762		Alava	Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando	1785	c. 1787	10 years	Oct., 1797	Before May 14, 1799	Mexico City	San Carlos
MERELO, LORENZO				Hispan-iola	Santa Cruz	San Fernando		July 28, 1798 Monterey	3 years 2 months	Oct. 8, 1801	Dec. 4, 1801	At Sea	San Francisco and San Antonio
MERINO, AGUSTIN	Before 1774			Spain		San Fernando		Apr. 14, 1797 S. Francisco	2 years c. 8 months	Jan., 1800			San José
MIGUEL, JOSE DE	1761	Zarbitu	Navarre	Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando	c. 1786	Aug. 2, 1790 Monterey & Aug., 1800	16 years c. 10 months	c. End of 1798	June 1, 1813	San Fernando	Santa Bárbara, San Luis Obispo, and San Gabriel
MORENO, JOSEPH MATIAS	1744	Almorza	Osma	Spain	Burgos	Querétaro	c. 1770	1780	c. 1 year		July 17, 1781	Bicuñer	San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer
MORENO, JUAN	Jan. 27, 1799	Monte-negro	Old Castile	Spain	Santo Evangelio, Mexico	San Fernando		1827	18 years and some months		Dec. 27, 1845	Santa Inés	Santa Bárbara, Santa Cruz, San Juan Bautista, San Miguel, and Santa Inés
MORENO, RAFAEL	1795			Mexico		Zacatecas		Jan. 15, 1833 Monterey	6 years 5 months		June 8, 1839	San José	Santa Clara, San Rafael, and San José
MUGARTEGUI, PABLO JOSEPH	c. Oct. 13, 1736	Marquina	Calahorra	Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando	1770	Jan. 24, 1774 S. Diego	25 years and some months	1789			San Diego, San Antonio, San Luis Obispo, and San Juan Capistrano

* Also known simply as Arenaza

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MUÑOZ, PEDRO	June 19, 1773	Puerto de Baños	Estremadura	Spain	Estremadura	San Fernando	Aug., 1803	1804	13 years and some months	Mar. 12, 1818	c. May 18, 1818	Tepic	San Miguel and San Fernando
MURGUIA, JOSE ANTONIO	Dec. 10, 1715	Domayguia	Alava	Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando		Aug. 30, 1773 S. Diego	10 years 8 months		May 11, 1784	Santa Clara	San Luis Obispo, San Antonio, San Carlos, and Santa Clara
MURO, MIGUEL	Before 1791			Mexico		Zacatecas		Dec. 10, 1841 S. Diego	3 years and some months	1845	June 20, 1848	Zacatecas	San José and San Francisco
NOBOA, DIEGO	1742	Compostela	Galicia	Spain	Galicia	San Fernando	1770	June 2, 1783 S. Francisco	11 years 2 months	Aug. 11, 1794			San Carlos and Santa Clara
NORIEGA, MATIAS ANTONIO DE SANTA CATALINA	1736	Andinas	Oviedo	Spain		San Fernando		1780	c. 9 years	1789			San Francisco and San Carlos
NUEZ, JOAQUIN PASCUAL	Febr. 20, 1785	Luco	Aragon	Spain	Aragon	San Fernando	c. June, 1810	July 6, 1812 S. Diego	9 years c. 6 months		Dec. 30, 1821	San Gabriel	San Fernando and San Gabriel
OLBES, RAMON	Febr. 8, 1786	Ateca	Aragon	Spain	Aragon	San Fernando	c. June, 1810	July 6, 1812 S. Diego	9 years 4 months	Nov. 15, 1821			Santa Inés, Santa Bárbara, San Luis Rey, and Santa Cruz
OLIVA, VICENTE PASCUAL	July 3, 1780	Martín del Río	Aragon	Spain	Aragon	San Fernando	c. June, 1810	Aug. 4, 1813 Monterey	34 years 5 months		Jan. 2, 1848	San Juan Capistrano	San Carlos, San Fernando, San Francisco, San Miguel, San Diego, and San Juan Capistrano
ORAMAS, CRISTOBAL	Before 1757	Icod	Tenerife	Spain		San Fernando		1786	8 years and some months	c. Oct., 1794			Santa Bárbara, Purísima, and San Miguel
ORDAZ, BLAS	1792	Corvero del Río Alamo	Burgos	Spain		San Fernando	1819	Aug., 1820 Monterey	30 years c. 2 months		c. Nov. 11, 1850	San Gabriel	San Carlos, San Francisco, San Miguel, Purísima, Santa Inés, San Buenaventura, San Fernando, San Gabriel, and San Juan Capistrano
PANELLA, JOSE	Before 1774					San Fernando		Apr. 14, 1797 S. Francisco	6 years 5 months	Oct. 4, 1803			San Diego and San Luis Rey
PANTO, PEDRO	1778	Balberde del Fresno	Estremadura	Spain	Estremadura	San Fernando	Aug., 1803	July 28, 1810 S. Diego	1 year 11 months		July 2, 1812	San Diego	San Diego
PARRON, FERNANDO	c. 1728	Arroyo del Puerco	Estremadura	Spain	Estremadura	San Fernando	c. 1759	Apr. 29, 1769 S. Diego	c. 2 years	1771			San Diego

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PALOU, FRANCISCO	Jan. 22, 1723	Palma	Majorca	Spain	Majorca	San Fernando	Dec., 1749	Aug. 30, 1773 S. Diego	12 years 2 months	Nov. 13, 1785	Apr. 6, 1789	Queré-taro	San Carlos and San Francisco
PATERNA, ANTONIO	1721	Seville	Andalusia	Spain	Andalusia	San Fernando	Dec., 1749	Mar. 12, 1771 S. Diego	21 years 11 months		Febr. 13, 1793	Santa Bárbara	San Gabriel, San Luis Obispo, and Santa Bárbara
PAYERAS, MARIANO	Oct. 10, 1769	Inca	Majorca	Spain	Majorca	San Fernando	1793	June 18, 1796 S. Francisco	26 years 10 months		Apr. 28, 1823	Purísima	San Diego, San Carlos, Soledad, and Purísima
PEÑA, TOMAS DE LA	1743	Brizuela	Burgos	Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando	1770	May, 1772 S. Diego	22 years	1794	Early in 1806	Mexico City	San Diego, San Luis Obispo, San Carlos, and Santa Clara
PEREZ, BERNARDINO				Mexico		Zacatecas		Jan. 15, 1833 Monterey	2 years 10 months	Nov. 17, 1835	1874	Tepozot-lán	Santa Clara
PEYRI, ANTONIO	Jan. 8, 1769	Porrera	Catalonia	Spain	Catalonia	San Fernando	July 26, 1795	June 18, 1796 S. Francisco	35 years 7 months	Jan. 17, 1832			San Luis Obispo and San Luis Rey
PIERAS, MIGUEL	1741	Palma	Majorca	Spain	Majorca	San Fernando	1770	Mar. 12, 1771 S. Diego	23 years 5 months	Aug. 11, 1794	Apr. 14, 1795	Mexico City	San Antonio
PRESTAMERO, JUAN	1736	Labastaida	Calahorra	Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando	c. 1759 1770	Aug. 30, 1773 S. Diego	10 months	July 7, 1774			San Diego and San Luis Obispo
PUJOL, FRANCISCO	Mar. 7, 1762	Alos	Urgel	Spain		San Fernando	c. 1793	Apr. 14, 1797 S. Francisco	3 years 11 months		Mar. 15, 1801	San Antonio	San Carlos and San Antonio
QUIJAS, LORENZO				Ecuador (?)		Zacatecas		Jan. 15, 1833 Monterey	11 years and some months	Early in 1844			San Solano, San Rafael, and San José
QUINTANA, ANDRES	1778	Antonorra	Calahorra	Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando	1804	Aug. 31, 1805 Monterey	7 years 1½ months		Oct. 12, 1812	Santa Cruz	Santa Cruz
RIPOLL, ANTONIO	Mar. 27, 1785	Palma	Majorca	Spain	Majorca	San Fernando	July, 1810	July 7, 1812 S. Diego	15 years 5 months	Jan. 23, 1828			Purísima and Santa Bárbara
RODRIGUEZ, ANTONIO CATARINO	1777	San Luis Potosí		Mexico	Zacatecas	San Fernando		1809	15 years and some months		Nov. 25, 1824	San Luis Obispo	Santa Cruz, San Luis Obispo, and Purísima

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RUBI, MARIANO	Mar. 26, 1756	Lluchmayor	Majorca	Spain	Majorca	San Fernando	c. 1786	Apr. 2, 1790 Monterey	c. 3 years	Early in 1793			San Antonio and Soledad
SAINZ DE LUCIO, JUAN	1771	Guadareya	Burgos	Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando	Aug., 1803	June 6, 1806 Monterey	10 years c. 5 months	Nov., 1816			San Francisco, San Juan Bautista, and San Carlos
SALAZAR, ISIDRO	Before 1768			Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando		1791	c. 4 years	Sept. 14, 1795			Santa Cruz
SANCHEZ, FRANCISCO	Aug., 1813	León	Guanajuato	Mexico		Zacatecas		Dec. 10, 1841 S. Diego	42 years 3 months		Apr. 17, 1884	Santa Bárbara	Santa Bárbara, Santa Inés, San Gabriel, and San Buenaventura
SANCHEZ, JOSE BERNARDO	Sept. 7, 1778	Robledillo	Ciudad Rodrigo	Spain	Estremadura	San Fernando	July, 1803	Aug. 14, 1804 S. Francisco	28 years 5 months		c. Jan. 15, 1833	San Gabriel	San Gabriel, San Diego, and Purísima
SANCHEZ, MIGUEL	1738	Baguera	Aragon	Spain	Aragon	San Fernando	1770	Sept. 26, 1774 S. Diego	28 years 4 months		Jan. 27, 1803	San Gabriel	San Gabriel and Santa Clara
SANCHO, JUAN BAUTISTA	Dec. 1, 1772	Artá	Majorca	Spain	Majorca	San Fernando	Aug., 1802	Aug. 4, 1804 Monterey	25 years 6 months		Febr. 8, 1830	San Antonio	San Antonio
SARRIA, VICENTE FRANCISCO DE	Nov., 1767	San Estevan de Echabarris	Vizcaya	Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando	1809	June 22, 1809 Monterey	26 years 11 months		May 24, 1835	Soledad	San Carlos and Soledad
SANTA MARIA, VICENTE DE	1742	Haras	Calahorra	Spain	Burgos	San Fernando	1769	June 27, 1775 Monterey & June 3, 1776	30 years 1 month		July 16, 1806	San Buenaventura	San Diego, San Francisco, and San Buenaventura
SEÑAN, JOSE	Mar. 31, 1760	Barcelona	Catalonia	Spain	Catalonia	San Fernando	c. Sept., 1784	Oct. 10, 1787 Monterey and May 7, 1798 S. Bárbara	35 years 2 months	Sept. 14, 1795	Aug. 24, 1825	San Buenaventura	San Carlos and San Buenaventura
SANTIAGO, NORBERTO DE	Before 1762	Samiano	León	Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando	1785	Fall, 1786 S. Francisco	14 years	Late in 1810			San Francisco and San Juan Capistrano

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SERRA, JUNIPERO	Nov. 24, 1713	Petra	Majorca	Spain	Majorca	San Fernando	Dec. 8, 1749	S. Diego July 1, 1769	15 years 2 months		Aug. 28, 1784	San Carlos	San Diego and San Carlos
SITJAR, BUENAVENTURA	Dec. 9, 1739	Porreras	Majorca	Spain	Majorca	San Fernando	1770	Apr. 14, 1771 S. Diego	37 years 4 months		Sept. 3, 1808	San Antonio	San Antonio and San Miguel
SOLA, FAUSTINO	Before 1763	Mondragon (?)	Vizcaya	Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando		1786	c. 4 years	c. Apr., 1790			San Luis Obispo and San Francisco
SOMERA, ANGEL*	Before 1743	Maravatio	Michoacán	Mexico		San Fernando		Mar. 12, 1771 S. Diego	c. 1½ years	Late in 1772			San Gabriel
SUAREZ DEL REAL, ANTONIO	1804			Mexico		Zacatecas		Jan. 15, 1833 Monterey	12 years c. 2 months	Late in 1845	June 3, 1850	Zacatecas	Santa Cruz, San Francisco, and San Carlos
SUAREZ DEL REAL, JOSE MARIA	Before 1812			Mexico		Zacatecas		Jan. 15, 1833 Monterey	c. 18 years	1851			San Carlos, Santa Clara, and San José
SUÑER, FRANCISCO	1764	Olat	Catalonia	Spain	Catalonia	San Fernando	c. July, 1804	1808	c. 22 years 6 months		Jan. 17, 1831	San Buena-ventura	San Carlos, San Juan Capistrano, San Luis Rey, Santa Bárbara, and San Buenaventura
TAPIS, ESTEVAN	c. 1756	Coloma de Farnes	Catalonia	Spain	Catalonia	San Fernando	1786	Aug. 2, 1790 Monterey	35 years 3 months		Nov. 3, 1825	San Juan Bautista	San Carlos, San Luis Obispo, Santa Bárbara, and San Juan Bautista
TORRENT, HILARIO			Catalonia	Spain	Catalonia	San Fernando	c. 1786	1786	12 years some months	Nov. 8, 1798	Before May 14, 1789	Mexico City	San Diego
URIA, JOSE ANTONIO	Before 1776	Ali		Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando		July 28, 1799 Monterey	13 years c. 4 months	Late in 1812	1815	Mexico City	San José, San Fernando, and San Juan Capistrano
URIA, FRANCISCO XAVIER	1770	Ayzarna	Pamplona	Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando	June 26, 1796	Apr. 14, 1797 S. Francisco 1808	35 years	1807	Nov. 5, 1834	Santa Bárbara	Santa Bárbara, Purísima, San Fernando, Santa Cruz, Santa Inés, Soledad, and San Buenaventura
URRESTI, JOSE ANTONIO	1775	Mañaria	Calahorra	Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando	Aug., 1803	1804	c. 7½ years		Jan. 4, 1812	San Fernando	San Gabriel, Santa Bárbara, and San Fernando
USON, RAMON	1737	Caspe	Aragon	Spain	Aragon	San Fernando	1770	Nov., 1772 S. Diego	1 year c. 8 months	July 7, 1774			San Gabriel, San Luis Obispo, and San Antonio

* Also known as Fernandez Somera y Balbuena

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VASQUEZ DEL MERCADO, JESUS MARIA	Before 1813			Mexico		Zacatecas		Jan. 15, 1833 Monterey	11 years and some months	1844			San Rafael, San Antonio, Santa Clara, and Soledad
VIADER, JOSE	Aug. 27, 1765	Gallines	Catalonia	Spain	Catalonia	San Fernando	June 26, 1795	June 18, 1796 S. Francisco	37 years and some months	Fall of 1833			Santa Clara
VIÑALS, JOSE	Before 1775	Barcelona	Catalonia	Spain	Catalonia	San Fernando		1798	c. 6 years	1804			San Carlos
VITORIA, MARCOS ANTONIO	1760	Vitoria	Calahorra	Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando	c. Sept. 1803	Aug. 31, 1805 S. Francisco	30 years 11 months		July 25, 1836	Santa Inés	Santa Bárbara, San Buenaventura, San Fernando, Purísima, and Santa Inés
VIZCAINO, JUAN *	1728	Fromista	Palencia	Spain	Concepción (Old Castile)	San Fernando	Dec. 8, 1749	Apr. 11, 1769 S. Diego	10 months	Febr. 11, 1770			San Diego
ZALVIDEA, JOSE MARIA	Mar. 2, 1780	Bilbao	Vizcaya	Spain	Cantabria	San Fernando	1804	Aug. 31, 1805 S. Francisco	40 years c. 5 months		Early in 1846	San Luis Rey	San Fernando, San Gabriel, San Juan Capistrano, and San Luis Rey

* Also known as González Vizcaíno

NOTES

1. There were twenty-one missions along the coast founded by the College of San Fernando and two missions on the California side of the Colorado River founded by the Queretarans.

2. This was discovered by Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt in 1912 at San Luis Rey on the second page of the front flyleaf of the book, *Directorio Moral por Fr. Francisco Echarri*, Vol. II (Madrid, 1790). See Engelhardt, *San Luis Rey Mission*, 202-203, for its translation.

3. These originals are in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives.

4. Some of these may be found in the Archives of the Indies, Seville, others in the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City.

5. These lists are in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives.

6. Each mission had at least three registers, making a minimum of sixty-three for the coastal missions. Some of the older missions had two and even three books of baptisms. Santa Barbara had three more registers for the statistics of the presidio. The Plaza church in Los Angeles began its separate register in 1826.

7. Engelhardt wrote the individual histories of sixteen missions, being prevented by death from writing the remaining five. These latter were Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San Jose, San Rafael, and San Francisco Solano. Besides Engelhardt, Bancroft in his *History of California*, 7 volumes, *passim*, gives generous biographical accounts of the missionaries and abundant source material concerning them.

8. Owing to the confiscation of church property in Mexico during the Reform of the Juarez regime in the past century, most of the documents on religious orders will be found in the various government archives rather than at the headquarters of the religious orders. The documents of the College of San Fernando are largely in the Archivo General de la Nación.

9. The mission registers are considered diocesan and parish property rather than Franciscan since the data they contain refers to pastoral activity in places which have since become parishes. Each diocese determines the manner and place in which such registers are kept. Those of San Luis Rey disappeared shortly after the secularization period. In most dioceses the registers are kept in the mission churches which have become parish churches. Some are kept in the rectories of the churches, others are on display in adjoining museums. In the Diocese of Monterey-Fresno, the mission registers, except those of San Miguel, are kept in the Chancery Archives in Fresno. The diocese has within its territory San Luis Obispo, San Miguel, San Antonio, Soledad, San Carlos, Santa Cruz and San Juan Bautista. In Santa Barbara, the mission retains the registers of the mission and the presidio register of deaths. The parish house of Our Lady of Sorrows, Santa Barbara, had the presidio registers of baptisms and marriages.

10. Besides the twenty-one missions conducted by the Fernandinos, they attended the four presidio chapels of San Diego, Santa Barbara, Monterey, and San

Francisco, the two asistencia churches of Los Angeles and San Jose, as well as the outlying asistencias of San Antonio de Pala, Santa Margarita, and San Pedro y San Pablo in the area of the present San Mateo. Each mission had a number of ranches some at quite a distance from it. A few of these had chapels such as Las Flores near San Luis Rey.

11. He was Fray Tomás Eleuterio Esténaga.

12. Details will be brought out in the Biographical Dictionary.

Union Loyalty of California's Civil War Governors

By LEO P. KIBBY

INTRODUCTION

ONE HUNDRED years ago the United States was at war with itself, and California was one of the participants in that struggle. Unfortunately, only minor attention has been given to the contributions the state made to the Union cause. Even as the war ended in April, 1865, the Russian chargé d'affaires, Baron de Stoeckl, had not been impressed with California's efforts: On April 14 he informed the Russian Foreign Office that California had "remained only half loyal to the Union," had "made only small financial contributions," and "did not supply a single man during the entire war."[1] There is reason to believe later historians have been content to accept de Stoeckl's evaluation, for they have been negligent not only in giving proper credit to California's role in the war, but few of them, as Ray C. Colton has written, "have dealt with the full significance . . . the Far West played in the mighty conflict."[2]

Abundant proof exists to nullify de Stoeckl's claim on the one hand, and to right the wrong of historical negligence on the other. Actually, the state was predominantly loyal, and it contributed heavily in both manpower and money. Again and again the state legislature, by joint resolution, pledged support to the Union, and by legislation appropriated money for the war effort.[3] The Civil War governors were loyal and co-operative.[4] Approximately sixteen thousand volunteers served in a variety of worthwhile functions: relieving United States Army Regulars; serving in areas like Arizona and New Mexico, and thus preventing the Confederacy either from establishing a direct route to California or in gaining a foothold on the Pacific Coast.[5] Approximately

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$185,000,000 in gold was shipped from the port of San Francisco alone between 1861-1864.[6] When Congress imposed a direct tax in 1861, California paid her proportion in the amount of about $250,000 immediately;[7] and the people of the State raised by voluntary contribution a total of $1,250,000 for the United States Sanitary Commission, an amount which represented one-fourth of the total collected for that organization throughout the United States.[8]

There were also certain leading citizens in California who made outstanding contributions to the Union cause, among whom were two who deserve special reference: Edwin D. Baker[9] and Thomas Starr King.[10] Baker was a friend of Lincoln, a reputable attorney in San Francisco, and later a United States Senator from Oregon. He often gave patriotic addresses in California, and once the war broke forth resigned his Senate seat, accepted a commission as colonel in the Union Army and was to be killed in action at Ball's Bluff on October 21, 1861, in an opening battle of the Civil War. Thomas Starr King, an outstanding Unitarian minister in San Francisco, combined his ministerial responsibilities with patriotic effort in order to enlist support for the Union and raise funds for the United States Sanitary Commission.

ANTE BELLUM CALIFORNIA[11]

By the terms of the Treaty with Mexico in 1848 a large land area was ceded to the United States. Included in this cession was California, an area soon to experience a mad gold rush and a rapid growth in population. Both developments gave rise to an urgent need for civil government marked by an accompanying sentiment for statehood. The end result was the convening of a state convention in Monterey in September of 1849, the formation of a state constitution, and the presentation of a petition for statehood to Congress. On September 9, 1850, after eight months of one of the most spirited and grueling congressional debates in the annals of this country, California was admitted to the Union as a free state.

Events to follow, as every student of American history knows, were to offer conclusive proof that California had entered upon her new statehood rôle at a time when sectional disturbances were erupting with marked regularity. Common as they were during the 1850's, these conflicts had by 1860 become more pronounced and of keen importance to all those who would be guiding the affairs of state in California. Despite the critical problems which would follow the disturbances, significant transformations would take place in California within the decade: her population would increase over 300 per cent to nearly three hundred eighty thousand people; the Overland Mail Route from St. Louis to San Francisco would open in 1857, and a contract for both letter and passenger service be given to John Butterfield. The route would be southerly, approximately twenty-seven hundred miles in length, and would require about twenty-five days to cover. In 1860 the Pony Express would be operating between St. Joseph, Missouri, and Sacramento, California, by a northerly route. And by October, 1861, New York and San Francisco would be connected with telegraph, and Governor-elect Leland Stanford would wire President Lincoln the message that California, like her sister states, "holds civil liberty and union above all price."

Within this same decade California would be served by six governors, the first of whom was Peter H. Burnett who was to remain in office for only a year before resigning. His successor was Lieutenant Governor John McDougal of whom it was said that "there was not much in him outside whiskey" and whatever talent he had was drowned in whiskey.[12] Next came John Bigler, a fair and average governor, who served for two two-year terms.[13] Following Bigler was John Neely Johnson who came to be governor in 1855, and though clever, "lacked firmness" and was also to become a drunkard.[14] John B. Weller, having served a term in the United States Senate, was to become California's next governor. He was known to hold strong convictions about the sectional conflict and the relationship that California should have to the national problem. In the message to the legislature of California in 1860 Weller commented that California "will not go with the South or the North, but here upon the shores of the Pacific found a mighty republic which may in the end prove the greatest of all."[15] The sixth man to become governor of California served in the capacity for only one day before resigning to become United States Senator. His name was Milton S. Latham. Had he continued as governor it is only possible to speculate on what his position and influence would have been toward the Union and the Confederacy. In his first year as United States Senator he did support the Union cause and denounced secession, but in his second year "his southern sympathies assumed ascendancy."[16]

Just previous to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 there had been uncertainty concerning the stand California would take and the rôle she might likely play in the sectional argument: Only seven of the fifty-three newspapers in California had supported Lincoln in the election of 1860.[17] And though Lincoln won the state's four electoral votes, he received but 32 per cent of its popular vote.[18] Moreover, in 1861 "California's representatives in congress . . . appeared to be somewhat indifferent to the welfare of the Pacific states," and this neglect tended to make them disloyal.[19] Even in the state legislature at Sacramento there were divided views,[20] and the assembly speaker, George Barstow, had stated that California at the outbreak of the war abounded with traitors and malcontents.[21] It is known also that influential businessmen actually counselled a neutrality policy for the state.[22] But the Fort Sumter incident appeared to seal California's fate: Following this incident both parties in California professed utmost devotion to the Union,[23] a loyal demonstration was made by businessmen in San Francisco,[24] Senators Latham and McDougal and others spoke in favor of coercing the Southern States,[25] and on May 17, the following concurrent resolution was adopted by the California state legislature pledging support to the federal government:

> *Resolved by the Senate, the Assembly concurring*, That the people of California are devoted to the Constitution and Union of the United States, and will not fail in fidelity and fealty to that Constitution and Union now in the hour of trial and peril. That California is ready to maintain the rights and honor of the National Government at home and abroad, and at all times to respond to any requisition that may be made upon her to defend the republic against foreign or domestic foes.[26]

CIVIL WAR GOVERNORS

Future assurance of loyalty would be forthcoming in the efforts expended for the Union cause by three men who were to serve as governor of California during the war years: John G. Downey, Leland Stanford, and Frederick F. Low.

Downey was a native of Ireland, Stanford was born in New York, and Low came from Maine. Both Downey and Low arrived in California in 1849; Stanford came three years later. Each man was to gain considerable fame and recognition because of his lifetime activities and public service. Downey arrived in California with only ten dollars in his pocket. But having learned how to compound drugs, he purchased a shipload of drugs at 20 per cent discount, opened a drugstore in Los Angeles, and within three years had succeeded in accumulating a considerable financial profit. In time, Downey became the owner of extensive estates comprising some seventy-five thousand acres of land in Southern California, and had a city named after him. Upon his death on March 1, 1894, he left an estate valued at one-half million dollars. Leland Stanford, a lawyer by profession, was in later life to become both a railroad magnate and a United States Senator. Entering the Senate in 1885 he was to serve in this office until death on June 21, 1893. Of special significance also is the fact that it was Stanford who founded the Leland Stanford Junior University in memory of his young son who died in Italy. Frederick F. Low gained a reputation in the banking business in both Marysville and San Francisco. Before becoming governor, he served in the House of Representatives, then as Collector of the Port of San Francisco, and after the Civil War was appointed by President Grant as Minister to China. Following his return from China to the United States in 1874, Low resumed his banking activities in San Francisco and continued in that business until his death on July 21, 1894. Like Stanford, Low's name is associated with a great university, for he was a major force in the founding of the University of California at Berkeley.[27]

Downey, a LeCompton Democrat, was elected in 1859 to the office of lieutenant governor on the same ticket that Milton S. Latham was elected governor. On the day following the inauguration as governor, Latham resigned and accepted the United States Senate vacancy created by the death of United States Senator David C. Broderick who had been killed in a duel by Judge David S. Terry. Downey served as governor for the two-year term and then retired from politics. But again, in a later election, he sought unsuccessfully the governorship. Stanford was a Republican and a strong supporter of Lincoln and the Union cause. He served a two-year term and was not a candidate for re-election. In 1862 Union Democrats joined forces with the Republican Party, and a strong Union Party arose. It was this party that nominated Frederick F. Low for governor in 1863. Though Low won the election, it is of special interest that the office seeker who opposed him was former Governor John G. Downey.[28] It should also be added that this was the first time a governor in California was elected to a four-year-term.

Of the three governors, Downey was the only one to be charged with a degree of disloyalty to the Union cause, though upon leaving office he was to receive commendation for his loyalty. The extreme Union patriotism of both Stanford and Low was never questioned. Strangely, perhaps, is the fact that their names appear in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, whereas the name of Downey is lacking.

One charge against Downey was made because he made appointments which revealed "his entire sympathy and cooperation with those plotting to sever California from her allegiance to the Union."[29] He was also criticized for a very friendly letter he wrote to the Reverend William A. Scott, of the Calvary Presbyterian Church in San Francisco, whose congregation had forced him to resign because of his sympathetic prayers for President Jefferson Davis.[30] And after Downey returned to private life, a statement he made in a letter to the May 1863 meeting of his party group in San Francisco also aroused comment and criticism. In this letter he indicated he had never favored waging an aggressive war upon any section of the Confederacy and that he did not believe the Union could be preserved by a coercive policy.[31] It might be noted, however, that with Downey's proclamation[32] calling out the required military forces of the state, and with his appointment of Colonel James H. Carleton to command the state's First Infantry and First Cavalry units,[33] he was contributing overtly and effectively to the Union war effort.

In a more favorable atmosphere, Downey stressed in his annual message to the state legislature in January, 1862, that the questions at issue between the North and South "were neither in their nature nor importance such as could not by any means have been settled by an honorable and peaceful adjustment."[34] Now the nation was committed to the policy of war, he continued, and whether or not war was the best policy to preserve the Union, the states remaining in the Union were committed and every citizen in the loyal States were obligated to aid Congress, and, if called out, to fight for law enforcement.[35] Downey also made it clear that his official acts as governor had conformed to the sentiments expressed in the joint resolution the legislature adopted on May 17, 1861.[36] Admitting further that he stood for the perpetuity of the Union, was loyal to the flag, and had complied with every legal requisition of the federal government made upon California, it was still Downey's conviction that the conflict might have been avoided by compromise.[37] Moreover, he pointed out that the original policy of the war which included such things as repelling aggression and blockade was not being pursued and that there were men in Congress and the Cabinet who would make the war a system of social change and political convulsion marked by instant emancipation of four million slaves. Thus, the inevitable result of such action would be "the subjugation and impoverishment of the white race, and the political elevation over them of the negro race."[38]

Upon the eve of his retirement from the governor's chair it must have been of considerable satisfaction to Downey to receive from Brigadier General George Wright, Commander of the Department of the Pacific, warm thanks for the "active cooperation and assistance which Your Excellency has afforded the commander of this department in organizing the volunteer force in this State."[39]

With Stanford at the helm of state for California "the people breathed more freely, for now their Executive was unequivocally and without any reservations, for the Union,"[40] and the state government would give hearty support to President Lincoln. And such assurance was well founded in the efforts of Stanford, even as the Sacramento *Union* had said of him that he received thousands of votes "not because he was a Republican but because he was a Union man."[41] In his inaugural address, Stanford emphasized that California was loyal to the Union and that "everyone of us should feel that we are but guardians, holding our lives and our fortunes in trust, for the protection of the Government, around which cluster the anxious hopes and fears of millions who have grown with its growth and strengthened with its strength."[42] Continuing, Stanford voiced the emphasis his administration would give to the Union cause: California has "nobly and wisely" pronounced in favor of the people's cause; and the state should now "prove her devotion to the Union and to Civil liberty, by doing all in her power to maintain both."[43] Stanford recommended too that California's part of the national tax "be cheerfully assumed, and provision be made for its payment out of the State Treasury."[44] The total, amounting to $254,538, was authorized in a senate concurrent resolution and was paid into the United States Treasury later in the year.[45] Much to Stanford's disgust, and also to that of the assembly's which adopted a resolution censuring the state treasurer and controller, the payment was not in gold but in depreciated legal tender notes.[46]

Coinciding with his annual message of January, 1863, was Lincoln's implementation of the Emancipation Proclamation. Referring to the proclamation in his message, Stanford spoke of it as the day when four millions of people were assured of their freedom and that it was an event "which will make it memorable as the commencement of a new era in human progress."[47]

In evaluating Stanford as a governor, it was Low's belief that on the whole he did well. However, many opposed Stanford, continued Low, because he went to the legislature and lobbied for the Pacific Railroad, and actually "went upon the floor of the Senate and cajoled and bullyragged and got this bill [Railroad Appropriation Bill] through."[48] But as governor, according to another's view, Stanford "did everything possible to maintain California as a loyal state and he gave freely of his money and time to the Union cause."[49] Ten years later he was praised by the press and the people.[50]

As stated earlier, it was in 1862 that the Republicans and Union Democrats joined forces, became the strong Union Party, and the following year nominated Frederick F. Low for governor. In winning the election Low received nearly 64,000 votes or 20,000 more than Downey.[51] Jubilant over the state's total election returns, Low wired President Lincoln on September 3 that "loyal California sends greeting," and "the Union, State and Congressional tickets are elected by a majority of 25,000 to 30,000."[52] On the same day Low also wired Secretary of War Stanton that "we have moved on the enemy's works and they are ours" and "California by her votes bids you and the Army Godspeed in your arduous yet glorious work."[53]

Even Brigadier General George Wright was impressed with the election results and wired Stanton that the "Union State ticket carried by large majority" and there was also a large contribution made to the sanitary fund.[54]

The War Department indicated its delight with the California election results when Stanton responded to Low by sending a congratulatory message to him and then adding that "while our armies are thus moving on the enemy's works rejoice that California has put in such a big lick at rebellion."[55]

In his inaugural address in December, 1863, Governor Low revealed the position his own administration would likely take when he commended his fellow citizens for their decision "to stand firmly by the National cause."[56] Two years later, with the war having ended, and in a Biennial message, he submitted to the state legislature the proposed Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, and recommended that such measure be approved.[57] And in the same message the governor was to note "it is a proud reflection that we have cordially fulfilled every obligation to the National Government."[58] Finally, Governor Low made use of the occasion to heap high praise upon the California Volunteers for the highest honor they had won for themselves in their varied military assignments, and which had occasioned "encomiums from all their officers."[59]

NOTES

1. Baron de Stoeckl to Prince Gortchakov, April 14, 1865, as quoted by Albert A. Woldman, *Lincoln and the Russians* (New York: Collier Books, 1961), pp. 236-38.

2. Ray C. Colton, *The Civil War in the Western Territories* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), Foreword.

3. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, XXIV (San Francisco: The History Company Publishers, 1888), pp. 279, 297-98.

See also Franklin Tuthill, *The History of California* (San Francisco: H. H. Bancroft & Co., 1866), p. 592.

4. The purpose of the present paper.

5. For contributions by the military, please see the following articles by the author: "Some Aspects of California's Military Problems During the Civil War," *Civil War History*, V (September 1959), 251-262; "California Soldiers in the Civil War," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXL (December 1961), 343-350; "With Colonel Carleton and the California Column," *The Historical Society of Southern California* Quarterly, XLI (December 1959), 337-344.

6. Tuthill, *History of California*, p. 601.

See also George T. Clark, *Leland Stanford War Governor of California Railroad Builder and Founder of Stanford University* (Stanford: University Press, 1931), p. 125.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 594. Although the collection was in gold, the amount was paid in greenbacks.

8. Clark, *Leland Stanford*, p. 125.

9. Harry C. Blair and Rebecca Tarshis, *Colonel Edward D. Baker: Lincoln's Constant Ally* (Salem: Oregon Historical Society, 1960).

See also Elijah R. Kennedy, *The Contest for California in 1861: How Colonel E. D. Baker Saved the Pacific States to the Union* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1912).

10. Arnold Crompton, *Apostle of Liberty Starr King in California* (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1950).

11. While it is the purpose of this paper to give attention to the Union loyalty demonstrated by California's Civil War governors, it must be remembered that by 1861 the state had had but a single decade of experience in statehood and federal activities. Hence, a brief glance at that antebellum period provides excellent perspective, and is, therefore, included herewith.

12. Robert H. Becker, ed., *Some Reflections of an Early California Governor contained in a short Dictated Memoir by Frederick F. Low, Ninth Governor of California . . . in 1883* (San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1959), p. 29. This work is a rare account of an interview between Governor Low and Hubert H. Bancroft.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

14. *Loc. cit.*

15. John B. Weller, "Annual Message," *Journal of the Assembly*, Eleventh Session, California Legislature, 1860, p. 64.

16. Bancroft, *Works*, XXIV, 274.

17. Crompton, *Apostle of Liberty*, p. 34.

18. George H. Tinkham, *California Men and Events* (Stockton: Record Publishing Co., 1915), p. 186.

19. Bancroft, *Works*, XXIV, 275.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 277, n. 2.

21. Speaker George Barstow, "Valedictory Address, May 15, 1862," *Journal of the Assembly*, Thirteenth Session, 1862, p. 760.

22. Bancroft, *Works*, XXIV, 276.

23. *Ibid.*, XXIV, 278.

24. *Ibid.*, XXIV, 279.

25. *Loc. cit.*

26. Richard H. Orton, comp., *Records of California Men in the War of the Rebellion, 1861 to 1867* (Sacramento: State Office, 1890), p. 2.

27. Becker, *Reflections*, Foreword. In Foreword, Eli T. Sheppard's *University of California Chronicle*, April 1917, is quoted.

See also *Dictionary of American Biography*, XI, 445.

28. *Journal of the Assembly*, Fifteenth Session, 1863-64, p. 43.

29. Orton, *Records*, pp. 27-28.

30. Downey to Scott, October 1, 1861, *The Pacific Expositor*, III (November 1861), 201.

31. Tuthill, *History of California*, p. 588.

32. Proclamation of Governor Downey, August 12, 1861, Orton, *Records*, pp. 12-13.

33. Downey to Lincoln, September 2, 1861, *Ibid.*, p.322.

34. John G. Downey, "Annual Message, January 8, 1862," *Journal of the Senate*, Thirteenth Session, 1862, p. 49.

35. *Loc. cit.*

36. *Supra.*

37. Downey, "Annual Message," *Ibid.*, p. 52.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

39. Wright to Downey, January 9, 1862, *War of the Rebellion: A Complia-tion of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, I, 50, Pt 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880), p. 799.

40. Tuthill, *History of California*, p. 589.

41. Sacramento *Union*, September 6, 1861, quoted in Clark, *Leland Stanford*, p. 112.

42. Leland Stanford, "Inaugural address, January 10, 1862," *Journal of the Senate*, Thirteenth Session, p. 102.

43. *Loc. cit.*

44. *Loc. cit.*

45. Clark, *Leland Stanford*, p. 122.

46. *Loc. cit.*

47. Leland Stanford, "Annual Message, January 7, 1863," *Journal of the Senate*, Fourteenth Session, p. 46.

48. Becker, *Reflections*, p. 36.

49. Tinkham, *California Men*, p. 209.

50. *Loc. cit.*

51. *Journal of the Assembly*, Fifteenth Session, 1863-64, p. 43.

52. Low to Lincoln, September 3, 1863, *Official Records*, I, 50, Pt. 2, p. 602.

53. Low to Stanton, September 3, 1863, *Official Records*, I, 50, Pt. 2, p. 602.

54. Wright to Stanton, September 3, 1863, *Official Records*, I, 50, Pt. 2, p. 605.

55. Stanton to Low, September 4, 1863, *Official Records*, I, 50, Pt. 2, p. 605.

56. Frederick F. Low, "Inaugural Address, December 10, 1863," *Journal of the Senate*, Fifteenth Session, p. 74.

57. Frederick F. Low, Biennial Message, December 4, 1865, *Journal of the Senate*, Sixteenth Session, p. 54.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

The Two Californias During World War II

By MICHAEL MATHES

THE RELATIONSHIP OF California to Mexico is unique. California has the highest Mexican population of any area outside of Mexico, and ties with Baja California are very strong due to a long history of tourism and economic exchange. During the post-World War I period, millions of Californians availed themselves of gambling, drinking, hunting and fishing, and beach facilities in Baja California. Furthermore, manufactured articles, machinery, automobiles, gasoline and oil, and many basic staples were shipped into the duty-free zone of Baja California from Los Angeles and San Diego to supply the rapidly growing towns of Tijuana, Ensenada, and Mexicali, as well as the rural areas. Defense co-operation, however, was as yet untried, and, due to a long history of diplomatic and military conflict between the United States and Mexico, was considered by many as untenable.

Prior to World War II, a Mexican naval base had been established at Isla Margarita on Bahía Magdalena, as had a naval station at Bahía Pichilingue, along with five airfields of commercial length, all in Baja California.[1] These bases formed the nucleus for the defense of the area, and were open to the temporary use of United States vessels and aircraft.[2]

It is then not surprising that many in Mexico as well as in the United States felt misgivings when it was announced, on September 11, 1941, that President Manuel Avila Camacho had given his consent to the right wing, allegedly Nazi sympathizing, Unión Nacional Sinarquista (UNS) to found a colony on Bahía Magdalena, notwithstanding the planned enlargement of the naval base located there.[3] Following the Japanese attack on the United States, and the declaration of war by that

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nation, fear of invasion of the West Coast was foremost in the minds of the people of both Californias. Despite this fear, the UNS colony, María Auxiliadora, was founded on December 12 by four hundred and fifty colonists under Salvador Abascal.[4]

In order to fortify Baja California against possible attack or sabotage, General Lázaro Cárdenas was recalled from retirement on December 10, and appointed commandant of the Pacific Zone. Although Mexico had not declared war against the enemies of the United States, Cárdenas immediately ordered the reinforcement of troops in Baja California;[5] and, disembarking at Nogales, Sonora, two battalions of fifteen hundred troops were moved by train to San Diego, California, and thence to Tijuana, Baja California.[6]

This immediate defensive action came none too early. Since the declaration of war by the United States on Japan, the Japanese Association of Baja California had increased activity following their November meeting at which a letter from Hideki Tojo was read by Military Attaché Captain Hamaka.[7] This activity, due to the large number of Japanese, both in Mexicali and Ensenada, along with those operating fishing boats along the coast, led to a close vigilance being placed on Baja California by Mexican air and sea patrols.[8]

This defense co-operation with the United States for the protection of the West Coast, notwithstanding Mexico's neutrality, was greatly appreciated in California. Following the announcement of the patrol and fortification of Baja California, Senator Sheridan Downey stated before the Senate that "Mexico today gives us proof for the righteousness of our course. Mexico could have seriously endangered our military position in this war."[9] Soon thereafter Cárdenas optimistically reported from Ensenada that there were no Japanese bases or hideaways in Baja California.[10]

Following this announcement, however, on January 2, 1942, Presidents Manuel Avila Camacho and Franklin D. Roosevelt, by executive agreement, set up the Mexico-United States Defense Board to study defense problems.[11] Following the creation of this board, nine Mexican air patrols began daily operation in the Pacific from Isla de Cedros northward, and Mexican gunboats protected United States minefields along the coast.[12]

Due to the severance of Mexico's diplomatic relations with Japan the preceding December 8, all Japanese along the Mexican coast were ordered to move one hundred kilometers inland between December 31 and January 15.[13] This time limit was extended, however, and defense measures were given priority planning.

Following his defense conference with the governors of Baja California, Sonora, Sinaloa, Nayarit, Jalisco, Michoacán, Guerrero, Oaxaca, and Chiapas, held in Mazatlán from January 18 to 20,[14] Cárdenas went to San Diego where from January 23 to 28 he attended joint conferences on defense. The results of these conferences were strict controls on fishing, joint air and sea patrols north of Mazatlán, and daily reports to San Francisco by Colonel Luis Amalillo Flores, military attaché in Washington.[15] In Baja California, regular troops and one thousand volunteer militia, all under orders from General Macías Valenzuela, were assigned to the construction of roads, telephones and telegraph lines, and gun emplacements. To serve as a command post and civil defense center, the Hotel Riviera del Pacífico in Ensenada was taken over as an emergency measure.[16]

Reports from these newly established Baja California defense stations of Japanese aircraft and submarines along the California coast in February of 1942 brought a new surge of military activity in Baja California. Following many days of intensive patrol, Cárdenas reported that neither submarines nor aircraft had used Baja California as a base; however vigilance and restrictions would be increased.[17] The results were the arrest of eighteen Japanese within the one hundred kilometer restricted zone and the surveillance of firms on the United States Proscribed List of Certain Blocked Nationals.[18]

Notwithstanding active co-operation with the United States throughout the early months of 1942, Mexico had remained cautious regarding formal commitment to the conflict. However, following the torpedoing of the Pemex tankers *Potrero del Llano* on May 15 and *Faja de Oro* on May 20, the question of war was placed before the National Congress. On June 1 following a near unanimous vote, President Manuel Avila Camacho decreed that "The United Mexican States are found in a State of War with Germany, Italy, and Japan."[19]

The result of this decree was a state of emergency in the entire nation. Concern over political ideology became greater in both Californias. The right wing UNS had gained a foothold in California and membership was reported to be as high as fifty thousand.[20] On August 12 Guy Nunn of the War Manpower Commission, speaking in Los Angeles, accused the UNS of criminal and Fifth Column activity, and thus notified the residents of California of the existence of the organization.[21]

Much of the rise of the UNS in California can be attributed to the militancy of the members of that group among the new immigration of Mexican Nationals brought about by the Convention on Contracting Mexican Laborers to be Employed in Agriculture in the United States of August 4. This agreement called for the contracting of seventy-five thousand agricultural workers (*braceros*).[22] On September 29 fifteen hundred workers, the first under this unique agreement, arrived in California.[23]

The initiation of the bracero program was a high point in Mexican co-operation with the United States, and promotion of further cooperative efforts came in a speech given in Spanish by Vice President Henry Wallace on September 16 in Los Angeles. Wallace spoke of a "kinship" of California and Mexico, and called for strong unity of action.[24]

This unity was forthcoming, and by December, 1942, Mexican airforce officers were attending courses at March Field, California, and plans for greater security were in preparation.[25] Along with training, to enable both nations to build a stronger military force, an agreement allowing the reciprocal conscription of resident nationals was signed January 22, 1943. This agreement exempted students and border crossers, and guaranteed equal benefits and rights.[26]

These manifestations of the Good Neighbor Policy were strengthened by President Franklin D. Roosevelt's visit with President Manuel Avila Camacho on April 20 in Monterrey, Nuevo León.[27] The visit had been preceded by the christening of liberty ships in commemoration of great Mexican patriots. In Wilmington, California, on April 14, the *Miguel Hidalgo*, built by the California Shipbuilding Corporation, was christened by the wife of General Felipe Rico, commandant of the Second Military Zone, Ensenada, Baja California.[28]

Countering this goodwill between nations were the zoot-suit riots of June 4 through 7 in Los Angeles. In these riots many Mexican-Americans were beaten by United States servicemen, and soon the problem of conflict spread to San Diego and other areas. Little was done to right the wrongs done to the innocent due to the formation of public opinion by the local press and public officials. A tendency toward anti-Mexican feelings and extremist patriotism was evidenced by articles in the Los Angeles *Times*, *Examiner*, *Herald Express*, and *Daily News* which were strongly biased toward the United States servicemen and tended to group all Mexicans by generalities. Mayor Fletcher Bowron and Chief of Police C. B. Horrall tended to be apathetic and remained silent in regard to the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office "Ayers Report" which attributed the cause of the riots to "biological" tendencies of the Mexican-American. Laws prohibiting the wearing of zoot-suits were passed; however danger remained due to public opinion. Protests from Minister Rafael de Colina and Ambassador Francisco Castillo Nájera, nevertheless, sobered the Los Angeles officials and press.[29]

Much of the basis for the riots was blamed upon UNS activity, and Inspector General of Mexican Consulates in the United States, Adolfo de la Huerta, notwithstanding a lack of evidence, fully blamed the UNS and other right wing groups.[30] Baltasar Luna in Los Angeles and Antonio Martínez in San Francisco were reported as UNS leaders, but they apparently had no part in the riots. More highly fanatical left wing organs went so far as to accuse Ignacio E. Lozano, publisher of the Los Angeles Mexican daily, *La Opinión*, and the Catholic diocesan newspaper, *The Tidings*, of supporting Nazism which the leftists held to be equal with Sinarquismo.[31]

Despite the social and political controversy which came about due to the rising Mexican population, the continuing influx of braceros brought needed aid to California. By the fall of 1943, some 233,000 braceros had come to the state, and contracts for more were continually being drawn up.[32] The bracero had also branched from agricultural labor,[33] and 3,325 men, 72 percent of the track force, were employed by the Southern Pacific Railroad.[34]

As with the conservation of labor through braceros, Mexico and the United States were also interested in the conservation of natural resources and increased production. The Treaty for the Utilization of the Waters of the Colorado, Tijuana, and Rio Grande rivers was, however, also the result of a long legal conflict between California and Mexico over the Colorado River.[35] The treaty, nevertheless, allowed Baja California to receive an adequate amount of water, and the conflict was ended on February 3, 1944.[36] As a result of the provisions of the treaty, new irrigation works were jointly constructed along the Colorado River, and the Rodríguez Dam on the Tijuana River was completed.[37]

The water treaty brought a new growth of agriculture in the north of Baja California; however agricultural attempts by the UNS, lacking any form of support, were waning. In June Salvador Abascal, founder of María Auxiliadora, separated from the party; however he remained with the colony.[38] His attempts to retain a following in Baja California failed nevertheless, for his colony had only cultivated sixty hectares; and of the 450 original settlers, only 246 remained.[39]

The labors of the braceros in the United States were, on the other hand, highly successful. By the fall of 1944, some 63,348 braceros were at work in the United States, and 115,000 had been contracted in addition to 50,137 railroad workers contracted.[40]

Mexican Nationals in the United States military service had also distinguished themselves as recipients of the Silver Star, Soldier's Medal, and Purple Heart.[41] Many of the 13,632 men serving by 1944 were killed, missing, or wounded in the European and Pacific theaters.[42] Mexico as a nation also contributed in December of 1944 by sending an airforce squadron to the Philippine Islands.

As World War II neared its end, preparations were made for the adjustments of peacetime. Following the Chapultepec Conference in Mexico, D.F., the Conference of the United Nations was called in San Francisco, California. Being a signatory to the Atlantic Charter[43] and a combatant in World War II entitled Mexico to the privileges accorded to such a nation, and on April 22, 1945, Secretary of Foreign Relations Ezequiel Padilla, along with Ministers Manuel Tello and Francisco Castillo Nájera, were received in San Francisco.[44] On June 26, 1945, the Mexican delegation signed the Charter of the United Nations and joined the co-operative effort for peace.[45]

Thus, for Mexico, World War II had formally ended; however cooperation between the two nations and between the two Californias had not ceased. A major cause for contention, water distribution, had, for the time, been solved, and California found a greater need for Baja California's co-operation through the continuation of the bracero program. Due to wartime need and population growth, Baja California found a greater economic dependence on California, but, because of wartime improvements in roads and accommodations, Californians increased their travel and expenditures in Baja California. Furthermore, the development of Baja California agriculture has found a complement in a ready market in California. The postwar years have witnessed a continuation of co-operation originally caused by wartime necessity which remains strong between the two Californias.

NOTES

1. *Seis Años de Gobierno al Servicio de México 1934-1940,* Secretaría de Gobernación (México, 1940), pp. 92, 415.

2. "Mexico Goes to War," *Scholastic,* 41 (14 Sept. 1942), 15; see also New York *Times,* 1 Jan. 1942, p. 51.

3. Eduardo J. Correa, *El Balance del Avila Camachismo* (Mexico, 1946), pp. 77, 88-90. The Chamber of Deputies called for revocation of the permit on 14 October 1941; however, it was upheld by the Senate two days later. See also New York *Times,* 13 Sept. 1941, p. 6, and 15 Oct. 1941, p. 9; also, Mario Gill, *Sinarquismo* (2nd ed.; México, 1944), p. 163.

4. Gill, *op. cit.,* p. 515.

5. Correa, *op. cit.,* p. 108.

6. "Teamwork in Mexico," *Time,* XXXVIII (29 Dec. 1941), 21; see also New York *Times,* 10 Dec. 1941, p. 6, and 21 Dec. 1941, p. 33.

7. Over three hundred persons, including veterans of the Japanese military, attended. Betty Kirk, *Covering the Mexican Front* (Norman, 1942), p. 289.

8. Major Japanese concerns were Kagai Kogoyo Kaisha (land development), Tajio Sangy Kaisha (fishing), Nocabuchi representing Iwai and Mitsui (Ojo de Liebre salt development). See Harry Bernstein, "Mexico's War with Japan," *Far Eastern Survey,* XI (30 Nov. 1942), 345.

On 30 December, 50 Japanese fishing boats were in operation along the Baja California coast. See New York *Times,* 30 Dec. 1941, p. 10.

Gunboats were called from the Gulf of Mexico through the Panama Canal for patrol in the Pacific. See New York *Times,* 9 Dec. 1941, p. 22.

9. New York *Times,* 10 Dec. 1941, p. 7.

10. *Ibid.,* 3 Jan. 1942, *passim.* See also Alice Leone Moats, "Mexico Pitches In," *Colliers,* III (2 Jan. 1943), 34.

11. The board was under Brigadier General Manuel S. González, Brigadier General Tomás Sánchez Hernández, Lieutenant General Stanley B. Embick and Vice Admiral Alfred W. Johnson. See *Memoria. Septiembre de 1941-Agosto de 1942,* Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores (México, 1942), I, 529. (Hereinafter cited as *Memoria.* date.)

The board began official functions on 27 February 1942 following Executive

Order 9030. See *Acts of 77th Congress Second Session January 5, 1942 to December 16, 1942,* United States Code and Congressional Service (Saint Paul, 1942), p. 258.

12. New York *Times,* 7 Jan. 1942, p. 10.

13. Correa, *op. cit.,* p. 12.

14. *Ibid.*

15. New York *Times,* 23, 25, 26, 29 Jan. 1942.

16. *Ibid.,* 21 Feb. 1942, p. 7. See also Moats, *op. cit.,* p. 30. Also from personal observations of the author.

17. New York *Times,* 5 Mar. 1942, p. 3.

18. *Ibid.,* 15 Mar. 1942, p. 27, and 19 Mar. 1942, p. 3.

19. *Memoria. 1941-1942,* I, 227, 271-2.

20. Felix Díaz Escobar, "The Spread of Sinarquism," *The Nation,* 156 (3 April 1943), 487. Cf. Edward Skillin, Jr., "A Note on Sinarquism," *Commonweal,* XL (9 Jun. 1944), 178, who reports 3,000 UNS members in the United States. On 1 November 1937, the Southern California Regional Committee was set up in Los Angeles. See Betty Kirk, "Mexico's Social Justice Party," *The Nation,* 156 (12 June 1943), 329.

21. Betty Kirk, "Mexico's Social Justice Party," p. 329.

22. *Memoria. 1942-1943,* I, 539-65. Braceros brought over $300,000,000MN per annum into Mexico. Tarsicio Márquez Padilla, *Consideraciones sobre la interpretación mexicana de la política del Buen Vecino* (México, n.d.), p. 79. Cf. Lesley Byrd Simpson, *Many Mexicos* (Berkeley, 1957), p. 311, who shows only 50,000 contract workers.

23. Robert C. Jones, *Los Braceros Mexicanos en Los Estados Unidos durante El Periodo Bélico* (Washington, 1945), p. 3.

24. Henry A. Wallace, "Mexican Independence and New World Ideals thru More Freedom," *Vital Speeches,* VIII (1 Oct. 1942), 740-2.

25. New York *Times,* 1 Nov. 1942, p. 1.

26. *Memoria. 1942-1943,* I, 3, 23, 173, 182, 254-64, 294. See also 57 *U.S. Stat. at L.* (1943), 973. The agreement was the final result of negotiations resulting from the decree of 22 October, and 23 November 1942, permitting Mexican citizens to serve civilly or militarily in favor of belligerents. Up to August 1943, 11,215 men served in the United States. See also, *Desde México,* 15 Nov. 1942.

27. *Memoria. 1942-1943,* I, 404.

28. *Ibid.* I, 499.

29. New York *Times,* 10, 11 June 1943. Protests were also made in México, D.F. See New York *Times,* 16 June 1943, p. 23; Carey McWilliams, "The Zoot-Suit Riots," *New Republic,* 109 (31 June 1943), 212-20; "Pachuco Troubles," *Inter-American,* II (Aug., 1943), 5; Ruth D. Tuck, "Behind the Zoot Suit Riots," *Survey Graphic,* XXXII (Aug. 1943), 313-16; "Zoot Suits and Service Stripes: Race Tension Behind the Riots," *Newsweek,* XXV (21 June 1943), 35-40.

30. New York *Times,* 22 June 1943, p. 23; see also, "Pachuco Troubles," *op.*

cit., p. 5; Lloyd Nallen, "Axis Propaganda in Latin America," *Current History*, 5 (Sept., 1943), 35-9; Skillen, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-8.

31. Porfirio Riviera was named as leader in Bakersfield as was Pedro Villaseñor in Los Angeles. Many Los Angeles Catholic priests, among them the Claretian Fathers and Father Manuel A. Canseco (Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish), were accused of ties with the UNS. Heinz H. F. Eulau, "Sinarquismo in the United States," *Inter-American*, III (March, 1944), 25-7.

32. *Desde México*, 20 Jan. 1943 and 31 Aug. 1943; see also Anne Roller Issler, "Good Neighbors Lend a Hand," *Survey Graphic*, XXXII (Oct., 1943), 390; Carey McWilliams, "They Saved the Crops," *Inter-American*, II (Aug., 1943), 10; Correa, *op cit.*, p. 185.

33. 57 *U.S. Stat. at L.* (1944), 1359. The agreement to extend contract workers to fields other than agriculture was passed on 24 February 1943.

34. "Mexicans Assist," *Business Week* (14 Oct., 1944), p. 54.

35. *Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate Seventy-ninth Congress First Session on Treaty with Mexico Relating to the Utilization of the Waters of Certain Rivers*, U.S. Congress, Senate (Washington, 1945), *passim.*

36. 59 *U.S. Stat. at L.* (1945), 1210. In force, 3 November 1945.

37. Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

38. Gill, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Joseph H. L. Schlarman, *Mexico: A Land of Volcanoes* (Milwaukee, 1959), p. 133.

39. Gill, *op. cit.*, p. 191; see also Nathan L. Whetten, *Rural Mexico* (Chicago, 1948), p. 315.

40. Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 42; also Correa, *op. cit.*, pp. 226, 229.

41. *Desde México*, 15 May 1944.

42. *Memoria. 1943-1944.* pp. 37-92.

43. *Treaties in Force.* U.S. Department of State (Washington, 1959), p. 181.

44. *Memoria. 1944-1945*, I, 145-79. Also, 59 *U.S. Stat. at L.* (1945), 1031

45. *Mexico News*, 30 April 1945. Also, 59 *U.S. Stat. at L.* (1945), 1031.

A Study of Graduate Research in California History in California Colleges and Universities

(continued)

By Pamela A. Bleich

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

22.0 Master's Theses

22.1 Adamson, Maud. *The Land Grant System of Governor Juan B. Alvarado.* 1931.
A study of the land system based upon secularization of mission lands to meet the needs of the expanding cattle industry, 1836-1842. Sources: documents—government (federal); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary.

22.2 Appell, Louise. *An Historical Folk-survey of Southern California: a Narrative of the Peopling of the Southland.* 1927.
A survey of the economic and social problems presented by various cultural groups which have populated Southern California. Sources: documents—government (federal); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

22.3 Ardoff, Genevieve. *The Development of Death Valley with Special Reference to Transportation.* 1930.
The struggle of man to overcome the geographical and climatical barriers of the region, from the arrival of the Manly Party in 1849, the founding of borax and establishment of railroads, to the establishment of a resort by Death Valley Scotty. Sources: periodicals; secondary.

22.4 Arthur, Agnes. *The Attitude of California toward Reconstruction between 1865 and 1871 as Expressed by the Newspapers and the Members of Congress from California.* 1927.
Topics covered: slavery; secession; Civil War; Lincoln's policy; Thirteenth Amendment; Freedmen's Bureau Bill; Civil Rights Bill; Fourteenth Amendment; Reconstruction Acts of 1867; impeachment of Andrew Johnson; Fifteenth Amendment. Sources: documents—government (federal; state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.5 Atkins, John. *A History of the Steamship Passenger Trade on the Pacific Coast, 1849-1889.* 1933.

An account of the first voyage up the coast of San Francisco; the organization of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company; the competition between Pacific Mail, Vanderbilt Lines, and other companies; and various marine disasters. Sources: documents–nonpublic (business); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.6 Avilez, Alexander. *Population Increases in Alta California in the Spanish Period, 1769-1821.* 1955.
The story of exploring parties, 1769-1781, and various military, religious, and civilian groups sent to settle and civilize Alta California, 1781-1821; the influence of intruding foreigners on the Spanish colonial policy. Sources: manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

22.7 Baggot, M. Reginald, Sister. *A History of the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary in California.* 1937.
The origins, development, and traditions of the institute and contributions to Catholic Education, 1871-1930. Sources: documents–nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary; other.

22.8 Bain, Naomi. *The Story of Colonel Thomas Baker and the Founding of Bakersfield.* 1941.
The rôle of Baker as a city founder, county farmer, state senator and civic leader. Sources: documents–government (state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

22.9 Beatty, Donald. *History of the Legal Status of the American Indian, with Particular Reference to California.* 1957.
Legal status, laws and statutes under Spanish, Mexican, and the United States governments and their reflection of the treatment of California Indians. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); periodicals; secondary.

22.10 Beck, Julian. *The History of Legal Education in Los Angeles County.* 1935.
An evaluation of legal education from the early beginnings and law students, associations to the genesis and growth of law schools at USC, South-Western University, Loyola University, Polytechnic Evening High School, University of the West, American University, Pacific Coast University, Metropolitan University, and California Associated Colleges, 1880-1933. Sources: documents–government (state, city), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

22.11 Benavídez, Francis. *The History of the Purchase and Use of Camels by the United States Army.* 1938.
Background material on the origin and distribution of camels, and accounts of the early attempts by the Spanish to introduce camels to the New World and attempts by the United States Army, 1850-1860, to use camels in California. Sources: documents–government (federal); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.12 Bennett, Clarice. *A History of Rancho La Brea to 1900.* 1938.
Covers geography, land grant made to the Rocha family and transfer of lands to Hancock, litigation over title during the American period, settlement and subdivision of the lands, the construction of roads and railroads, and description of the tar and asphalt springs. Sources: documents–government (provincial, county, city); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.13 Bergstrom, Elizabeth. *The Life and Activities of John Gately Downey, with a Short Sketch of the City of Downey.* 1930.
A brief biography of Downey as pioneer drug storeman, cofounder of East Los Angeles, builder of the Downey Block, cofounder of the first Los Angeles bank, founder of the Board of Trade (the forerunner of the Los Angeles County Chamber of Commerce), and activities as governor of California during the Civil War. Sources: documents–government (state, county); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.14 Broaded, Carrie. *The Social Development of Los Angeles County during the Sixties.* 1929.
A survey of county problems in transportation and communication, establishment of public schools, businesses, churches, benevolent societies, and recreational areas. Sources: documents–government (county, city); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

22.15 Brode, Alverda. *The History of the University Section, Los Angeles.* 1922.
The location of University of Southern California from 1825 to 1922 covering: geography, granting of patents, growth and development of Los Angeles City, the founding and growth of USC in relation to the city and as an educational institution. Sources: secondary; other.

22.16 Broderick, Marian. *The Methodist Episcopal Church on the Pacific Slope: a Study of the Relationship of Religious Forces to the Frontier.* 1929.
Establishment and expansion of the church, and contributions to education and the founding of various colleges in California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Montana. Sources: documents–government (federal), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; secondary.

22.17 Bromilow, Jessie. *Don Pío de Jesús Pico, His Biography and His Place in History.* 1931.
Pico as a Spanish landowner, cattleman, politician, and governor during the Mexican period, 1801-1848. Sources: documents–government (provincial, federal); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.18 Brown, Walton. *A Historical Study of the Portuguese in California.* 1944.
The discovery of California by and settlement by Portuguese, 1542-1940. Sources: documents–government (federal, state, county); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.19 Callender, Ruth. *A Study of Special Day Americanization and Citizenship Classes in the Los Angeles City Schools.* 1949.
History of the establishment and growth of the Americanization and Citizenship Department from 1915 to 1943. Sources: documents–government (state, city); manuscripts; secondary; other.

22.20 Cameron, Una. *The History of San Gabriel Valley.* 1938.
Contents: geography; Indians; Spanish exploration and settlement; influence of the San Gabriel Mission; secularization of mission lands; ranchos; American settlement; general economic development from 1873 to 1937. Sources: documents–government (federal, state, county); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

22.21 Campilio, James. *A History of the Sacramento Valley Railroad up to 1865.* 1934.
An account of the rôle played by the railroad in the development of Sacramento Valley, the planning and construction by Theodore Judah, and the competition with the Central Pacific. Sources: documents–government (state), nonpublic (business); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

22.22 Carothers, Alice. *The History of the Southern Pacific Railroad in the San Joaquin Valley.* 1934.
The story of land grants, construction, routes, towns which grew-up along the line, train robberies, and the Mussel Slough tragedy. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

22.23 Catren, Robert. *Hydroelectric Developments in Southern California.* 1942.
Traces the establishment of the Los Angeles Edison Company and the Southern California Power Company; developments in hydroelectric power prior to 1900; rise of Pacific Light and Power Company and Edison Electric Company in the 1900's; beginnings of various power projects for superpower systems; development of municipal power in Los Angeles and in Imperial Valley. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.24 Chase, Elizabeth. *The History of the Ojai Valley.* 1933.
A brief general economic, recreational, and cultural history of the Ojai Valley from 1837 to 1933. Sources: newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

22.25 Christie, Blanche. *Phineas Banning, with Special Reference to the Development of Transportation in Southern California.* 1932.
Banning is studied as a businessman, state senator, and civic leader in Wilmington, San Pedro, and Los Angeles. Sources: documents–government (state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.26 Clarke, Susan. *Holtville, Gateway to California: the First City of Imperial Valley.* 1932.

Topics include: geography; Indians; Spanish explorations; settlement and reclamation of the desert; development of irrigation system by George Chaffey and Charles Rockwood; effects of irrigation upon city growth; beginnings of various social, economic, and political institutions; World War I contributions. Sources: documents–government (federal); newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

22.27 Corea, Mary Teresa, Sister. *An Annotated Translation of Portions of Alexander Holinski's California and the Interoceanic Routes.* 1931.
Observations of a Frenchman, 1851-1852. Translated chapters cover San Francisco, the gold region, climate and soil, importance of mining and agriculture, and "The universal liberties." Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.28 Crampton, June. *A History of the Los Angeles and San Pedro Railroad.* 1929.
The background, planning, construction, and operation of the railroad, 1862-1873. Sources: documents–government (state, county), nonpublic (business); newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

22.29 Dawson, Ray. *A History of Tustin, California, with Special Emphasis Upon Its Citrus Developments.* 1938.
A brief social and economic history of the development of the Santa Ana Valley; the settling of Tustin, the struggle for water, the effects of the land boom of the 1880's on Tustin; and the difficulties in establishing the citrus industry. Sources: documents; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

22.30 Dearborn-Stuart, Ethel. *A History of Medical Practices in Early California.* 1955.
Medical aspects of the life and customs of the Indians, and practices of the Spanish and Mexican Periods. Sources: manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

22.31 Deaver, Charles. *The Establishment and Administration of the Pueblo of Los Angeles under Spain: Including Its Historical, Psychological, and Political Bases.* 1916.
The political and economic influences which affected Spain's colonization of New Spain and Alta California, and the nature of that occupation as it occurred in the Los Angeles pueblo. Sources: manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

22.32 Dennerlein, Gerald. *The History of the Ramonaland: the Economic and Social Development of San Jacinto, California.* 1940.
An account of the geography, land grants and grantees, American settlement, economic and social advance (to 1920), and evolution of the Ramona Pageant. Sources: documents–government (county, city); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

22.33 Dennis, Margaret. *The History of the Beet-sugar Industry in California.* 1937.

From 1830-1936 covering: origins of the industry in the United States; early crop attempts in California; factory growth at Watsonville, Chino, Oxnard, Spreckels, Crockett, Bettervaria; governmental protection and subsidy. Sources: documents–government (federal), nonpublic (business); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.34 Domínguez, Arnold. *A Historical Study of Rancho San Juan Cajón de Santa Ana and Its Owners until 1857.* 1950.
An account of the Ontiveros family obtaining and building-up the rancho, 1833-1857. Sources: documents–government (provincial, federal, state); periodicals; secondary.

22.35 Dorland, Allan. *A History of San Marino, California.* 1947.
Contents: founding of the San Gabriel Mission in 1776; Indians; building California's first water powered grist mill and its relations with the mission and community; development of ranchos in San Gabriel Valley and the San Marino area; early American settlers; founding San Marino; development of various social and cultural institutions. Sources: documents–nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

22.36 Dyer, Sarah. *A History of the Native Daughters of the Golden West.* 1933.
The contributions of the order for the preservation and restoration of historic landmarks, fostering study of California, and cultivating patriotism of California. Sources: documents–nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.37 Eddy, Dale. *The History of the Upper Salinas Valley.* 1938.
Contents: geography; Indians; early Spanish explorations; founding of Mission San Miguel Arcángel and Santa Margarita Asistencia; effect of secularization; description of ranchos; Paso de Robles, Santa Margarita, and Atascadero; founding of towns during the American period to 1890. Sources: documents–government (federal, county); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.38 Elman, Sidney. *Some Aspects of the California Mid-Winter International Exposition of 1894.* 1950.
An account of the planning, construction, holding of the fair in San Francisco, December, 1893, through June, 1894; the contributions of the fair to the city's park and art center program; and the fair as a record of California progress. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.39 Estes, Richard. *The Development of Thoroughbred Horse Racing in Southern California.* 1949.
Horse racing, 1852-1949, with emphasis on establishment of Santa Anita in 1907 by Elias Baldwin; effect of direct legislation on racing, 1910-1933; development of modern big time tracks with legalization of racing in 1933,

and the betting problem. Sources: documents–government (state), nonpublic, (business); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.40 Feeler, William. *History of Whittier College.* 1919.
The history of that institution from its beginning to the close of the endowment campaign for a "Greater Whittier College" in 1917. Sources: documents–nonpublic (organization); newspapers; other.

22.41 Fisher, J. Donald. *A Historical Study of the Migrant in California.* 1945.
The social, economic, and political effects of non-United States migratory laborers and agricultural development prior to 1930, and the causes and sources of United States migratory laborers, 1930-1940. Sources: documents –government (federal, state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.42 Forbes, Jack. *A History of the Yuma Indians and Yumaland to 1821.* 1957.
From prehistoric times to Spanish exploration and military and religious encounters with the Indians, to gain control over the area, to the end of the Spanish period in 1821. Sources: documents–government (provincial); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary; other.

22.43 Fredericks, Agatha. *Development of Irrigation in California.* 1928.
A study of the geographical distribution of water and the development of irrigation, 1781-1926, with emphasis on legislation, laws, irrigation districts, types of irrigation projects, rise of towns, etc. Sources: documents–government (federal, state), nonpublic (organization); periodicals; secondary.

22.44 Gates, Charles. *The History and the Development of the California Institute of Technology.* 1935.
An account of the Institute from its beginning as Throop University in 1891 to 1938, covering the administration of James Sherer and Robert Millikan. Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals.

22.45 Gates, Robert. *Kern County Mountain Area.* 1948.
An investigation into the historical significance of the area in relation to the development of Kern County and the state of California. Sources: documents–government (federal); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary.

22.46 Gates, Samuel. *A History of the University of Southern California. 1900-1928.* 1929.
Prepared for the Fiftieth Anniversary of the University emphasizing expansion of the curriculum, faculty, and student body. Sources: documents –nonpublic (organization); periodicals; secondary; other.

22.47 Gay, Leslie. *History of the University of Southern California.* 1910.
An account of the first three decades of the University's growth and development. Sources: documents–nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary; other.

22.48 George, Marcel. *The Townsend Plan in California, 1933-1936.* 1953.
The socio-economic and political aspects of the Townsend organization, and the significance of the plan in relation to the Social Security Act, and

a biographical sketch of Dr. Townsend. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary; other.

22.49 Geyer, William. *California and the West in Civil War Time.* 1958.
An analysis of the attitude of the Far West, particularly California, toward: the sectional controversy; the War; the New Mexico campaign by Confederate sympathizer John Baylor; the participation of California troops in the New Mexico Indian campaigns; and other federal operations of the Far West, 1861-1866, between Union and Confederate troops and sympathizers. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.50 Gilliland, Doris. *The History of Rancho Malibu.* 1947.
From 1804 to 1940 covering: land grant made to José Tapia and development of the rancho; succession of ownership to Leon Prudhomme, Matthew Keller, Carrie Lewis, and Frederick Rindge; the struggle by the Rindges to keep intact ranch lands against highway litigation and construction; development as a sea resort. Sources: documents–government (provincial, state, county); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary.

22.51 Goff, Ruth. *The History of Maritime Trade along the Coast of Southern California, 1848-1900.* 1930.
Includes a survey of trade prior to 1848, shipping facilities after 1849, trade at various ports from San Diego to Santa Barbara, and the effect of the deep water harbor quarrel on the trade. Sources: documents–government (federal, city); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary.

22.52 Gossom, Margaret. *Southern California during the Civil War.* 1933.
A discussion of the religious and political aspects of the public attitude toward the war, 1860-1865; describes the friction between Union and Confederate sympathizers, the influx of lawless bands, and the establishment of military quarters at the Drum Barracks in Wilmington. Sources: documents–government (state), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.53 Gregg, Adelaide. *A History of Santa Catalina Island from 1542 to 1919.* 1934.
Contents: geography; flora and fauna; Indians; events during the Spanish and Mexican periods; succession of ownership during the American period; industries; development of Avalon City; development as a resort. Sources: documents–government (provincial, federal, state, county, city), nonpublic (business); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.54 Gridley, Nina. *Southern California's Attitude on Political Issues, 1910-1926.* 1931.
An evaluation based mainly on election returns in direct referendums on moral, educational, entertainment, prohibition, issues, and the rise and decline of the Progressive Party. Sources: documents–government (state, county), nonpublic (organization); periodicals; secondary.

22.55 Grimshaw, Mary. *The History of Orange County, 1769-1889.* 1937.
Contents: geography; Indians; Spanish explorations; establishment of San Juan Capistrano Mission; Spanish and Mexican land grants; settlement of Americans and foreigners; county formation. Sources: documents–government (federal, state, county); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.56 Grivas, Theodore. *General Stephen Watts Kearny and the Army of the West.* 1953.
A study of the Mexican and California campaigns: includes a detailed description of the march of the Army of the West from Leavenworth to San Diego, and the effects of the operation upon the conquest of California. Sources: documents–government (federal); periodicals; secondary; other.

22.57 Haarstad, William. *Special Library Collections in the Southern California Area as an Approach to Historical Studies.* 1956.
The Los Angeles Philatelic Club Library, the Helms Athletic Foundation Library, and the Beckman Instruments Company Library as potential fields for research. Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

22.58 Hammond, Gertrude. *Public Education in California under the Constitution of '49.* 1930.
Public education, 1849-1879, including legal provisions, history of school organization and the teaching profession, and the rôle of certain educational pioneers. Sources: documents–government (state); periodicals; secondary.

22.59 Hanrahan, Helen. *The History of Sacramento from Its Founding to the Civil War.* 1932.
Contents: the Sutter's Fort area prior to 1848; the founding of Sacramento during the gold rush in 1849; the land title dispute; the squatter riots; the selection for the state capitol; development as a cultural and transportation and communication center. Sources: documents–government (city); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.60 Harkness, Elizabeth. *A History of the Presbytery of Los Angeles, 1850-1928.* 1929.
An account of the growth and expansion of the activities and organization of the church, and its social, economic, and political problems. Sources: documents–government (federal), nonpublic (organization); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.61 Hawkins, Conrad. *Mormon Pioneering and Colonizing in California.* 1947.
A presentation of events, 1847-1857, in terms of the theology and doctrine of the Mormon Church. Sources: documents–government (federal); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.62 Hazzard, Pauline. *History of the Mount Wilson Observatory.* 1931.

Development of the observatory as a scientific center, 1913-1931. Sources: periodicals; secondary.

22.63 Hessel, Josephine. *The History of the Catholic Church in Los Angeles.* 1938.
A history from 1850 to 1930 covering: the founding of various educational and social institutions; the Pious Fund; the American Protective Association activities against the church; the effect of the gold rush on the church, etc. Sources: documents–government (federal, county), nonpublic (business, organization); newspapers; secondary; other.

22.64 Hoffman, Alice. *The Evolution of the Highway from Salt Lake to Los Angeles.* 1936.
An account of man's attempts to conquer desert and mountains and establish an inland route, from Spanish explorations to the completion of the San Pedro-Salt Lake Railroad. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.65 Hoffman, Philip. *History of Pacific Union College.* 1941.
From 1882-1939 the establishment, development, and expansion of the college operated by the Seventh Day Adventist Church, and its place in California education. Sources: documents–nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

22.66 Holcomb, Robert. *The Federal Theatre in the Los Angeles Area.* 1956.
The story of a government relief program, 1935-1939, its organization, administration, presentation, physical properties, and an evaluation of its collapse. Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

22.67 Holstein, Walter. *A History of Wilmington.* 1931.
Contents: Spanish discovery; American settlement; Banning's freighting business; the Drum Barracks during the Civil War; harbor development; social and economic development. Sources: documents–government (federal, city); newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

22.68 Hough, John. *Agricultural Labor Relations in the Imperial Valley from 1928 to 1934.* 1951.
An analysis of the conflicts between the growers, financial agencies, the railroads, shippers, and workers as an example of the general trend in American agriculture, from the independent small farmer to mechanized big farms. Sources: documents–government (federal); nonpublic (organization); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.69 Houston, Henrietta. *The Techniques of the Emigrant Trail.* 1934.
A survey of the points of emigrant embarkation, the equipment, the handbooks and guidebooks, the daily routine, the techniques of daily survival, and sections of the Northern and Southern trails. Sources: documents–government (federal); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.70 Hoyt, Franklyn. *A History of the Desert Region of Riverside County from 1540 to the Completion of the Railroad to Yuma in 1877.* 1948.

Explorations and attempts to establish a communication and transportation route through the eastern-part of Riverside County. Sources: newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.71 Hutchins, Jennings. *A History of Quaker Social Thought and Action in Southern California.* 1947.
Story of the founding, growth, and development of Quaker institutional forms in Pasadena, Whittier, Riverside, 1880-1945, and a description of Quaker social thought and action. Sources: documents–nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.72 Hutchinson, Charles. *Development and Use of Transportation Routes in the San Bernardino Valley Regions, 1769-1900.* 1933.
An account of struggles over environment and tests by Indians in establishing the Mojave River Route, the Old Spanish Trail, the Mormon Road, the Old Government Route, etc., to the coming of the railroads. Sources: documents–government (federal, county); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.73 Ingram, William. *The History of California Masonry.* 1941.
The role of Freemasonry as a social and unifying force. Includes accounts of the contributions to state development by historically prominent Californians who were Masons. Sources: documents–nonpublic (organization); periodicals; secondary; other.

22.74 Jermain, Nina. *The History of the Los Angeles Civic Center Movement.* 1934.
Early attempts at city planning and improvements, 1781-1907. Treats the movement as a co-ordinated and co-operative action between city and county from the planning stage to construction of various units. Sources: documents–government (city); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary.

22.75 Jewell, Marion. *Agricultural Development in Tulare County, 1870-1900.* 1950.
The evolution of farming through the grass, grain, and fruit cycles; and the rôle of water control, farm invention, and transportation in the development of farming. Sources: documents–government (federal, county), nonpublic (business); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary.

22.76 Johnson, Alice. *The Attitude of California toward the Compromise of 1850.* 1926.
Contents: events which led to the formation of the California Constitution; Congressional balance and inbalance, 1849-1959, and the Compromise of 1850; California admittance into the Union; attitude toward the Fugitive Slave Law in California party politics, elections, etc.; movement for state division, 1859-1860. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

22.77 Johnson, Mary. *The San Antonio-San Diego Mail Line.* 1938.
From 1857-1861, an account of the mail contract, early days on the mail

line, closing of the line, and description of travel on the extreme Southern route. Sources: documents–government (federal); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.78 Johnson, Reuben. *A History of the Construction of the Union Pacific Railroad.* 1938.
History of the planning, organization, and construction to 1869, with emphasis on construction and engineering problems, Indian raids, etc. Sources: documents–government (federal); periodicals; secondary.

22.79 Karr, Albert. *The Port of Redondo Beach (1887-1926).* 1947.
Evaluation of factors which combined for the creation, development, and failure of the port. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.80 Kell, Elmer. *Early Travel and Communication in Southern California.* 1940.
Transportation and communication, 1849-1885, covering–shipping, freighting, postal service, stage lines, and various routes and trails. Sources: manuscripts; periodicals.

22.81 Kellon, Francis. *Llewellyn and Jotham Bixby: Pioneer California Businessmen.* 1952.
Bixbys' gold rush experiences and business activities as rancheros and pioneer developers, civic leaders, and benefactors of Long Beach. Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.82 Kiefer, Elva. *The First Thirty Years of Secondary and Higher Education in Los Angeles County, 1865-1895.* 1930.
A study of the few public, and many parochial, denominational, and private schools, colleges, and academies which offered instruction above the elementary grade. Sources: documents–government (state, city); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.83. King, Robert. *The Los Angeles Star: Southern California's First Newspaper.* 1947.
The founding, and administration by publishers John Lewis, Henry Hamilton, and Ben Truman, 1851-1879. Sources: documents–government (federal, county); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

22.84 Kingsbury, Ralph. *The Napa Valley to 1850.* 1939.
Contents: geography, Indians; the Spanish and establishment of the mission and presidio at Sonoma in 1823; American settlement; Mexican land grants; Russians at Mount Saint Helena; beginnings of Napa City; discovery of gold. Sources: documents–government (federal); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

22.85 Kirsner, Donald. *The Road to Urbanization: the Story of the Southern California Land Boom of 1887.* 1957.
An analysis of the causes and effects of the development of urbanization, 1864-1887. Sources: documents–government (federal, county, city), non-

public (business); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

22.86 Knox, Effie. *Early Moral Reform Movements in California, 1850-1856.* 1931.
The evolution of reform movements in relation to elements of moral influence of Spanish missionaries, problems presented by the gold rush, the emergency of stabilizing agencies and institutions, and legislation. Sources: documents–government (state), nonpublic (organization); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.87 Koff, Sylvia. *The Influence of John Muir on Conservation in California.* 1940.
A study of the rôle of Muir in the forming of the conservation program in California. The creation of national parks and forests. Sources: documents–government (federal); periodicals; secondary.

22.88 Kosberg, Milton. *The Polish Colony of California, 1876-1914.* 1952.
A study of the colony at Anaheim, Helena Modjeska's colony at Santiago Canyon, and the colony at Ignaz Jan Paderewski's ranch at Paso Robles. Sources: documents–government (county); nonpublic (business); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; other.

22.89 Kratka, Genevieve. *Upper San Joaquin Valley, 1772-1870.* 1937.
Contents: exploration by Fages, Garcés, Martín, Zalvidea, Moraga, Smith, Walker, Lebec, Frémont, Carson; Beale's land grants to ranchos San Emigdio and El Tejón; succession of ownership of rancho lands; Fort Tejón and the Indian Reservation. Sources: documents–government (federal); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.90 Kraus, Alma. *A Study of the Beginnings of Long Beach to 1888.* 1947.
From the time of the Spanish land grant made to Nieto in 1784 and subsequent succession of ownership, attempts to establish Wilmore City to the beginnings of Long Beach by the Bixbys. Sources: newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.91 Kusché, Karl. *The Development of UNESCO in Los Angeles 1948-1952.* 1953.
An account of some of the activities or organizations and persons for and against UNESCO, and the accomplishments of supporting organizations. Sources: documents–government (federal, city); nonpublic (organization); newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

22.92 Lacy, Eloise. *Contributions of People of French Origin to the Historical Development of the City and County of Los Angeles.* 1946.
Outstanding Frenchmen who have left their mark upon California history, 1785-1932. Sources: periodicals; secondary; other.

22.93 Lane, Kathleen. *The Early History of Goleta.* 1935.
Contents: Spanish exploration, 1542-1820; establishment of Santa Barbara mission and presidio; prominent early families; Mexican land grants with emphasis on the La Goleta grant to Daniel Hill in 1846; sale of rancho

lands to Joseph Sexton and Peter More; establishment of the town of Goleta in 1875; socio-economic development of the town up to 1935. Sources: documents–government (federal, state, county); secondary.

22.94 Larson, Esther. *The History of Music in Los Angeles.* 1930.
A brief study covering: instruments and songs of the Indians; Spanish influence; early American musical events; development of commercial and concert music in Los Angeles up to 1930. Sources: documents–government (city), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary; other.

22.95 Lederer, Lillian. *A Study of Anglo-American Settlers in Los Angeles County previous to the Admission of California to the Union.* 1927.
Prominent settlers and how they fitted into the Spanish communities as businessmen, rancheros, etc.; and the attitude of the natives towards the settlers. Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

22.96 Lee, Beatrice. *The History and Development of the Ontario Colony.* 1929.
Contents: exploration by Anza, Smith, Young; land grant of Rancho Cucamonga to Tiburcio Tapia in 1839 and succession of ownership; establishment of colony by Chaffey in the 1880's; social and economic development. Sources: documents–government (county, city), nonpublic (business); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

22.97 Lee, Margaret. *The History of Alhambra to 1915.* 1935.
Contents: founding of the San Gabriel Mission in 1771; explanation of ruins, place names, and "firsts" in the Alhambra area; no history of the Spanish and Mexican periods; beginning of the citrus industry; development of the community and various social and economic institutions, 1870-1915. Sources: documents–government (city), nonpublic (organization); newspapers; secondary; other.

22.98 Lerman, Theodore. *Henry George: "My Cause Is Just–I Shall Not Compromise."* 1950.
In California George wrote *Progress and Poverty* and lectured on Chinese immigration and the railroad and telegraph monopolies. Sources: periodicals; secondary.

22.99 Lindsey, Melzar. *Lower California as a Field of American Interest in the Nineteenth Century.* 1935.
The author shows how Baja California reflected the events of Alta California, from the sealers and whalers, war with Mexico, to American international colonization. Sources: documents–government (foreign, federal, city); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.100 Livingston, Milton. *A History of the First Large Spanish Land Grant in California: Rancho San Rafael.* 1915.
Contents: review of land title authority, and Spanish grants; José María Verdugo and the Rancho San Rafael; partition of the rancho lands; subdivision and establishment of towns Glendale, Burbank, Tropico and

Eagle Rock; beginnings of Occidental College and the Southwest Museum. Sources: documents–government (federal, county); secondary.

22.101 Lossing, Laverna. *A Study of the Character and Rôle of Music among the California Indians.* 1934.
An investigation of the extent of development and use of songs, ceremonials, and musical instruments by Indian musicians, and musical achievements of the Indians under the Franciscan Fathers. Sources: documents–government (federal), nonpublic (organization); periodicals; secondary; other.

22.102 Loth, John. *A Historical Analysis of the Serra Legacy.* 1949.
The significance of Serra's spiritual leadership was that he "assumed the responsibility of converting the Indian to the Christian cause by enhancing the dignity and quality of his character;" respecting the Indian for himself and providing cultural changes which raised the Indian's standard of living. Sources: periodicals; secondary.

22.103 McCall, Francis. *The Wilkes Expedition on the Pacific Coast in 1841.* 1952.
Primarily an account of the accomplishments of the expedition in the Pacific Northwest with some mention of California in the fourth chapter. Sources: manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

22.104 McDonald, Patricia. *A History of Beverly Hills, California.* 1947.
From 1808-1946 covering: Rancho Rodeo de las Aguas land grant and María Rita Valdez de Villa; succession of ownership during the early American period; the land boom of the 1880's; development of towns; Rodeo Land and Water Company; various social and economic aspects which characterized Beverly Hills as of 1946. Sources: documents–government (federal, state, county); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

22.105 McEuen. Virgil. *The Beginnings and Organization of Riverside County.* 1919.
Contents: geography and geology; Indians; Spanish exploration; era of Mexican rule; settlement of Americans at Banning, Beaumont, Corona, and settlement in Temecula and San Jacinto valleys; local government and movement for division from San Bernardino County; organization of Riverside County in 1893. Sources: documents–government (federal); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary.

22.106 Margo, Elizabeth. *Sports and Amusements in California from 1848 to 1860: a Survey.* 1939.
Survey of recreational activities (sports, shows and presentations) and facilities, and the effect of the restraining influence of homes and families on those activities. Sources: newspapers; secondary.

22.107 Marshall, Helen. *Isaac Owen, a Biography: a Study of the Works of the Itinerant Preacher, Isaac Owen in California from the Years 1849-1852.* 1936.

Description of the social and economic conditions of the gold rush, and the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church as carried out by one of its ministers. Sources: documents–nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

22.108 Maynard, Glyde. *A History of the Development of San Antonio Canyon, California.* 1935.
Emphasis has been placed on the American period and traces the social and economic development of the canyon up to the time it became a national forest area. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

22.109 Menzel, Spencer. *The Development of the Sweetwater Area (California).* 1942.
Contents: Spanish and Mexican land grants; succession of land ownership during the early American period; development of National City; the San Diego Land and Town Company and the land boom of the 1880's; the building of the Santa Fé Railroad. Sources: documents–government (provincial, federal, county); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.110 Morris, Lucie. *The History of the Town of Lancaster, Center of Antelope Valley, California.* 1934.
Contents: geography of the Mohave Desert; Spanish and American exploration; founding and growth of the town and various social, educational, and religious institutions; building of the Southern Pacific Railroad line; colonization schemes to bring or attract settlers; the effect of water and power on the area. Sources: documents–government (federal, state, county); newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

22.111 Morrison, Raymond. *Luis Antonio Argüello, First Mexican Governor of California.* 1938.
A brief biography covering Argüello's accomplishments as explorer, soldier, politician, and governor, 1784-1830. Sources: documents–government (provincial); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

22.112 Mudgett, Margaret. *The Political Career of Leland Stanford.* 1933.
Emphasis has been placed upon the relationship of Stanford's career and the political trends and developments in the state, 1861-1893. Sources: documents–government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

22.113 Murphy, Janice. *A History of Local Steam Railroads of Los Angeles, 1870-1900.* 1936.
A discussion of the construction, operation, competition, routes, etc., of the Los Angeles and Independence Railway, the Los Angeles and San Gabriel Valley Railroad, and the Los Angeles Terminal Railroad. Sources: documents–government (federal); manuscripts; newspaper; secondary.

NEW BOOKS

Two Years Before the Mast: A Personal Narrative of Life at Sea by Richard Henry Dana, Jr. Edited by John Haskell Kemble. (Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie Press, 1964. 2 vols. $24.75.) Reviewed by A. P. Nasatir.

Richard Henry Dana, a youth of nineteen and a member of a well-known New England family, shipped as a common sailor in 1834 on the merchant vessel *Pilgrim*, bound for California. This voyage, undertaken by him for the sake of his health, resulted in a visit of nearly a year and a half in California during 1835 and 1836. Dana's book, *Two Years Before the Mast*, describing his voyage as well as his stay in California, unquestionably has been the most popular work on California ever written. Indeed the volume has become a classic, and has been reprinted many times.

But now for the first time, Dana's personal account of his hazardous voyage around the Horn from Boston to California and back, 1834-1836, written as Dana intended it to be read, has been presented in a two volume, handsomely printed and profusely illustrated edition by the Ward Ritchie Press and brilliantly edited by Professor John Haskell Kemble. This new edition of the original and complete Dana manuscript is a joy to behold!

To begin with, it exemplifies the highest tradition of fine book craftsmanship. It has more than one hundred excellent illustrations, including original two color drawings by Robert Weinstein, eight paintings in full color from Dana's time, many fine historical prints, charts and drawings, and a gallery of photographs from Dana's time.

The reader's eye is at once attracted to the two colors of ink used in these two volumes. Restored portions of the original manuscript appear in brown ink, while the text as it was published in 1840 appears in black. However this use of two colors of ink does not in the least interrupt the continuity. Indeed, the reader gains a much better insight than from previous editions.

In preparing these two volumes, the editor states that he was guided by certain principles. First of all, he tried to have Dana speak for himself with a minimum of interference. Also, his aim has been to present an easily readable text which is as uncluttered as possible. He has certainly succeeded in these aims. He did not rewrite Dana either in the text of *Two Years Before the Mast*, or in his letters or journals. Some of Dana's abbreviations have been filled out, and in some instances, the correct, modern spelling has been used, but in the main, the Dana text remains undisturbed.

The editing of Professor Kemble is a superb piece of historical sleuthing and research. In addition to what has been said above which constitutes one and one half of the two volumes, the last half of volume two has been added and contains a number of valuable additions to the Dana classic. Included among these are Dana's Journal of the voyage and some letters of Dana and of Capt. Francis A. Thompson, and some records illustrative of the California trade. But even more useful and valuable is Kemble's inclusion of Dana's Journal of his later voyage to California in 1859 and 1860, interspersed with Dana's letters to his wife written during that voyage. Professor Kemble has also included Dana's "concluding section" which he wrote for his new edition of *Two Years Before the Mast* in 1869.

Having included all that has been mentioned above, one could hardly expect that an "historian of the sea," such as Professor Kemble, would not seal his work without his own most helpful annotations and appendices. This he has done in his list of vessels, lists of persons and of the crew, and a most helpful and serviceable glossary of nautical terms used in Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast.* And there is a good index. Kemble has dressed up Dana's classic and his publishers have given that classic a suitable dress.

A. P. NASATIR, former president of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association and of the Pacific Coast Council on Latin American Studies, is an authority in Western American and California history.

The Letters of a Young Miner: Covering the Adventures of Jasper S. Hill During the California Gold Rush, 1849-1852. Edited by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. (San Francisco, John Howell, 1964. 111 pp. $15.00.) Reviewed by Glenn S. Dumke.

Much of the literature on the gold rush concerns marginal activities, rather than gold-seeking itself. Outlawry, transportation, the overland journey, vigilantism, and similar topics have had much attention; relatively few items on the gold rush concentrate on the backbone of the whole episode, the actual search for gold, the profits made, and daily life in the diggings.

Here is one account which emphasizes essentials. Jasper S. Hill was a seventeen-year-old Iowan who went to California for the purpose of making money by placer mining, and his letters home stress this major goal. He provides as good an index of the average profits of gold mining as any argonaut-author. When the daily dollar income rose slightly, the item was noted with great satisfaction. When it declined, this was a matter of major concern. Hill was young enough and unimaginative enough to stick to basics.

Hill, staked by his father, who was a prosperous small-town businessman, joined the Mount Pleasant Company of Iowans heading for the mines, which rendezvoused at St. Joseph. Nearly fifty persons started overland in May. They followed the Oregon Trail, making their way up the Platte to Fort Laramie, then moving on via South Pass to Fort Hall, and on to California via the Humboldt. At the Sierra the party split, the majority following the Donner trail, while Jasper and some companions crossed by way of Carson's Pass.

At Dry Diggings, Jasper and his companions went to work. "We arrived here on Saturday the 25th of August," he wrote, "and only two did anything at mining on the following week . . . and we made ninty-one dollars. The second week, four hundred and twenty-three dollars; third and last week, two hundred and thirty-three, which makes an aggregate of seven hundred and fourty-seven dollars" (p. 19). He commented on mining methods. "This is very hard work, as we know by experience. Our cradle cost us twenty dollars, and I am confident we can make more money in one day with it than we can with our pans in three or four days" (p. 20).

Jasper's great concern over his income was partly based, it is clear, on the fact that his father staked him to the journey, and expected some return on his investment. This fact also was responsible, apparently, for Jasper's reluctance to return home. His early weeks in the diggings produced a few thousand dollars, but later his income diminished, and he spent what he had earned in the inflated gold-rush economy. In letter after letter he apologizes for postponing his return journey, but repeatedly expresses the hope that somehow, either through mining or some other business, he might make the time spent worth while.

He was not impressed with California. "California, as a western country," he stated, "is not a desirable place to live in for me, at this point, as there never can be any farming or cultivation of any kind done here. You may ask me for what reason, and I would answer you thus. First, there is no soil. Sec'd, no rain—only in the winter. Therefore, it is fit for nothing save the gold it yields, and that in a few more years will not pay a person for crossing the plains as it requires very hard labor to get the shining dust now" (p. 19).

Jasper finally went home in 1852 and died a few years later at the age of 26, his experience that of many argonauts—a difficult, exciting journey, hard work, and small profits. But because this was the lot of most goldseekers, Jasper's letters are important.

The book, like most of John Howell's output, is beautifully printed and well edited, with an introduction, illustrations, a map, notes, and appendices. The only significant lack is an index, which might prove useful to scholars.

GLENN S. DUMKE, chancellor of the California State Colleges, is a noted California historian. He is the author of several books on the state's history, his most well-known being *The Boom of the Eighties in Southern California.*

California's Reluctant Prelate: The Life and Times of Right Reverend Thaddeus Amat, C.M. (1811-1878). By Francis J. Weber. (Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1964. 234 pp. $6.75.) Reviewed by Sister Magdalen Coughlin, C.S.J.

The very fact this book has been written is a contribution. For a step is taken here toward bringing into focus the men who followed the pioneer Franciscan missionary. And since the Church continued to be a major stabilizing institution it is essential to know the Bishop, the voice of the Church, to understand the succeeding period.

But Father Weber has done more than write of a churchman. He has escaped the narrow confines of a biography by viewing two most significant decades of California history through the career of Bishop Thaddeus Amat. The natural unity allows for the scope of a many-faceted treatment while escaping its perils.

The major problems of an adjusting and expanding Church in United States California—matters of jurisdiction, education, building, and ecclesiastical administration—are examined, so while Amat moves in and out of the scene the reader actually sees Southern California move from a relatively simple Mexican culture to one of greater complexity.

Excellent sources that throw several revealing flashes on Amat only make one wish for greater analysis. For instance, the treatment of the difficult matter of motivation, of the Bishop's "reluctance," is both sensitive and convincing. Amat's perception is indicated when after having first visited the "sleepy little pueblo" of Los Angeles in 1855, he later requested his see be transferred there, for he was convinced "Los Angeles, . . . cannot fail, although poor today, as there is no town or city in California so much favored with water for irrigation, the principal element wanted in California." From this time until his death in 1878, Thaddeus Amat dedicated his immense energy to the development of Southern California. For the rapid changes in the area—physical, political, economic and social—were all reflected in the needs the Church—the Bishop—was called upon to answer. Coupled with trips to both Europe and eastern United States to beg for priests and religious as well as funds, Bishop Amat directed the ecclesiastical growth in a vibrantly alive and dynamically developing area. So that at the end of his life, Amat's approved choice of Francis Mora as titular bishop with the right of succession heralded a period of another kind of adjustment, for now a non-Spanish Southern California was emerging.

The format is both attractive and readable. The group of fifteen pictures form a précis of Amat's career, beginning in Spain, coming through his work in the eastern United States to California, especially Los Angeles, but including too his publications and time in Rome. The Appendix, listings of both clergy and buildings, crystalize the change and growth. The text unfortunately is plagued with sprinkled errors: "of" instead of "on" on p. 7, the quote on p. 34 containing an extra "ish," "rational" instead of "national" on p. 47, "ehad" on p. 56, on p. 61 "destored" rather than "restored," "same" instead of "some" on p. 94, the "usefulnes" on p. 195 are examples. Yet these do not appreciably detract from a very readable account.

The easy familiarity with which the author moves in California history is a reflection of present and past work. While in some matters the balance of emphasis is debatable, many complex situations are deftly suggested rather than elaborately explained. What the author sets out to do—"to depict, in biographical form, the development of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Southern California during the quarter-century episcopate (1854-1878) of the Right Reverend Thaddeus Amat, C.M."—he does well. Father Weber will merit criticism only if he stops here.

Sister Magdalen Coughlin, c.s.j., is an instructor of history at Mount Saint Mary's College in Los Angeles, California.

California and Man. By David N. Hartman. (Dubuque, William C. Brown and Company, 1964. 423 pp. Paperback $4.75.) Reviewed by Herbert M. Eder.

David N. Hartman, chairman of the social science division at Southern California's Santa Ana College, has written the first systematic geography of California since C. M. Zierer's *California and the Southwest* (1956). The writing will be of interest to all readers of Californiana for its fresh orientation of up-to-date facts and interpretations of the relationship between the state's natural environment and its utilization by "California Man." The book is divided into five parts containing fifteen chapters. Part I is introductory and general with statements on California's natural environment, natural and man-made changes in the milieu, and increasing population. Part II contains chapters on the state's physiography, ocean and coastline, climate, water, and soil resource. Comprising one-third of the book, this part is a clear, concise yet unsimplified portrayal of the physical geography of California, stressing the variety of its natural features and regional landscapes. Part III, composed of chapters on agricultural, forestry, mining, and recreation, is an overview of the resource base and past and present human economies of California. The author devotes Part IV to a systematic description and analysis of the state's northern and southern urban regions. These chapters take on new significance when one considers that over 85 per cent of California's population live in these metropolises. Part V is a one chapter, few page comment on the growing importance of California as a trend setter and a challenge to the nation. An appendix containing a short list of source materials, some charts, tables, and maps precedes a comprehensive index.

There are some flaws in *California and Man* that should be corrected before the second printing. In Chapter I there are some naively deterministic statements that do not realistically take into consideration the cultural and technological abilities of contemporary or future California society. There are some incorrect assertions to the "scrub vegetation" of the White Mountain crests and the "electric light" being responsible for the decline of the whaling industry. There are typographical errors in standard words, place-names, and some inconsistency in method of footnoting. A final criticism is the conspicuous absence of references to works of some of the foremost geographers of California.

In spite of these errors, Hartman's presentation of increasing population and its impact on the natural environment, that is his awareness of man as an ecological dominant, is alone worth the reasonable price of the book. Then too, his delineation of California's agriculture, extractive and recreational industries, and urban scene is thorough and contemporary in terms of statistics and trends. Throughout, maps and diagrams add much to the comprehension of the written word. The reviewer recommends *California and Man* to all interested in the landscape of California and human activities set within this geographical matrix.

Herbert M. Eder is an assistant professor of Geography at the University of California, Berkeley.

Gold Fleet for California: Forty-Niners from Australia and New Zealand. By Charles Bateson (East Lansing, Michigan State University Press, 1964. 172 pp. $7.50.) Reviewed by Richard B. Rice.

This is a delightful little book for those of us who marvel at the intrepid sailors of days gone by. Certainly, it is a vivid reminder of what "gold fever" can do to individuals regardless of place in society. How many of us today would set sail from Australia on a thirty-four foot, thirteen ton, single masted "ship" bound for California? Thousands accepted such a challenge in 1849-51; and Mr. Bateson, whose earlier work, *The Convict Ships, 1787-1868*, is well-known, has made a refreshing story of this fact. Essentially a maritime history, *Gold Fleet for California* is a meticulous account of emigration from Australia and New Zealand to the California gold fields in 1849-50. Detailed appendixes summarize the information available for each ship participating in this movement including date of departure, type of vessel, tonnage, where constructed, master, number of passengers, and arrival dates at major ports of call. (In this regard we should excuse Mr. Bateson's use of the term "Frisco" for San Francisco). What is pleasing about the book is that Mr. Bateson has not succumbed to the lure of statistics. It is apparent that he had at his fingertips a vast amount of data concerning some 213 sailings. Yet the narrative remains a narrative, and does not become merely a means of reproducing this data in paragraph form.

While there are no startling discoveries reported in this book, it is an important addition to the literature of the California Gold Rush as well as to the maritime history of Australia and New Zealand. Mr. Bateson does some interesting detective work on the source of the first reports in the Sydney press of the gold discovery in California. His analysis of the individuals bound for the mines would support the usual generalizations concerning the kinds of persons attracted to California, with the exception of the convicts. While he does not minimize the significance of the Hounds and Sydney Ducks in San Francisco, he is careful to point out that former convicts made up no more than 10-15 per cent of the persons coming to California from Australia and New Zealand. His descriptions of those who left creditors a jump behind and the various attempts at pirating vessels for the trip to California are told with good humor. Other chapters contain valuable details of the types of ships sailing for San Francisco, and what the typical voyage was like for passengers. The activities of a few individuals leave a lasting impression. In particular one is attracted to Robert Towns, a Sydney businessman whose papers have been a key source for Mr. Bateson (but whose name is not included in the index), and Benjamin Boyd, a promoter of sorts who suffered a mysterious death at the hands of natives on Guadalcanal Island.

Sources for the book were primarily government records and newspapers. Some manuscript collections such as the Towns papers, all in Australian hands, were also used. Most criticisms that may be made relate to certain inaccuracies in the text. Marshall, of course, found gold on the American River, not the Sacramento (p. 9). Bernicia instead of Benicia appears on p. 42. Mr. Bateson's statement that "the gold rush shifted the political and intellectual centre of the state from Los Angeles to San Francisco" will raise some eyebrows—not only in Monterey. Perhaps a more serious lack is the absence of a map or chart that would enable the reader to envision more clearly the ship movements described so carefully in the book.

On the whole *Gold Fleet For California* is a good book. It certainly is one of the most handsome to be published this year. The jacket is outstanding, and excellent photographs have been used. More than that, it stimulates a continuing interest in the people who came to California from "down under" and provides a fresh understanding of the part played in the gold rush by them.

Richard B. Rice, whose field of specialization is California history, is chairman of the history department at the California State College at Hayward.

Pasadena: Its Early Years. By Henry Markham Page. (Los Angeles, Lorrin L. Morrison, 1964. 216 pp. Paper $3.95, cloth $7.95.) Reviewed by Joan Workman Jencks.

Pasadena: Its Early Years is a lively rendering of the brisk and deliberate development of an agricultural colony into a city; thus demonstrating the principle that local history can be as engaging to the general reader as to those looking for family names in print.

Mr. Page has written polite history which chronicles the development of established society and traces the growth of various public and social institutions. A comprehensive study of the city's socio-economic growth is not attempted here. The author's aim is rather to record local foibles and enthusiasms of the early families, of which Mr. Page is a member, as well as to describe some of the disputes which agitated the small community before the turn of the twentieth century.

One major problem involved the colony's running battle with the solitary saloon keeper, who it was feared, would ruin Pasadena's reputation as a suitable place where genteel families might settle. Other problems developed from vaguely drawn property lines which resulted in the clandestine destruction of disputed fences or, in one instance, of the building of a fence across a main street by an irate landowner one dark night.

In spite of the anecdotal nature of the book, Mr. Page is not dispensing nostalgia; nor, on the other hand, is there any attempt here to deny the rustic charm of camping atop the then roadless Mt. Wilson in a tent.

When the original citrus orchards gave way to town lots, real estate development became a compelling preoccupation. In order to attract the same calibre of people who had originally founded the "Indiana Colony" Pasadena residents publicized the town as a winter health haven and becoming highly conscious of their public relations, even doctored weather reports in the local newspaper. The response was enthusiastic and wealthy easterners flocked to Pasadena's elegant hotels. Mr. Page records the dignified fervor with which these "desirable" visitors were courted in the expectation that they might make Pasadena their permanent home. Today the city sees itself as the new "hub" of the San Gabriel Valley. Displaying an energy consistent with its past, Pasadena solicits the establishment of light industry keyed to the space age using the California Institute of Technology as an inducement.

Among the many schemes to establish Pasadena's reputation nationally, two enterprises dominated the enthusiastic 1890's. The first involved the indefatigable Dr. T. S. C. Lowe and his idea for constructing an electrically-powered scenic mountain railroad. His enterprise produced an inclined railroad to the top of a promontory in the San Gabriel Mountains. Dr. Lowe provided his guests with an excellent view of the valley below and accommodations in several hotels. As a further embellishment Dr. Lowe mounted a searchlight which could be played upon the buildings below to the amusement or consternation of the inhabitants.

The second institution established during that optimistic decade still enhances Pasadena's reputation. Starting out as a pleasant fête for an otherwise dull holiday, the Tournament of Roses has become a major football and television event. Mt. Lowe's buildings are rubble, but the New Year's Day parade and Rose Bowl game continue to attract guests from all parts of the country.

While the author has been careful to place his history against the larger backdrop of California history, the *Early Years* abounds in local incidents and scenes which assume a familiarity with the locale and specific street locations. Several dimly printed maps and numerous photographs accompany the text, but a well-nurtured memory of how the Arroyo Seco looked before its sides were cemented is one's best guide in reading this intimate history of a city which still strives to maintain its individuality amid the helter-skelter growth of Los Angeles County.

JOAN WORKMAN JENCKS, a Southern Californian and former resident of Pasadena, is currently a doctoral candidate in history and is doing research at the Bancroft Library.

Covina: Sunflowers, Citrus, Subdivisions. By Donald H. Pflueger. (Covina, California, Donald H. Pflueger, 1964. 372 pp. $12.50.) Reviewed by Anna Marie Hager.

Methods and ways of compiling a local history prove strange indeed when one discovers that dynamited offices, political upheavals in far-away Jordan where Donald H. Pflueger was cultural attaché, did not deter his zest and enthusiasm for his own particular and appointed project, the preparation of a definitive history of Covina. Local and interested residents, consistently faithful, kept contact with Pflueger and supplied legends, gossip, tattered clippings, letters, diaries, and pictures for his study. In such a manner was the distance barrier conquered between Pflueger and his subject. In addition to the many hands which lent sustained support in its preparation especially important are the Ratekin papers and Hoffland collection of Covina newspapers.

Nostalgically, Pflueger has recaptured the true flavor of an American farming community in Southern California. Early problems that were met in clearing land of chaparral and sunflowers, rabbits, the first citrus plantings, irrigation, spraying and handling of citrus products—all had a major role in the development of Covina. The beginnings of packing houses and co-operatives, and the resultant evolution of citrus processing and marketing, so tremendously important to the industry and economy of the community, have been well handled. Problems of securing adequate water for irrigation of squatters, and of smudge pots all played their parts in the early history of this San Gabriel Valley community. Covina's periods of droughts and of torrential floods are depicted, and the importance and establishment of the Los Angeles County Flood Control District and of the San Gabriel Valley Protective Association.

Happier pastimes of box suppers, church socials, hay rides, amateur theatricals, parades, and the era of silent movies complete with turkey door prizes, are delightfully revealed. Not forsaken are the homey person-to-person recitals of pioneer residents and their "word-pictures" that have been skillfully woven into the overall fabric which in the final analysis provides the true picture of Covina.

An added dividend is the valuable material Pflueger has included pertaining to those Boom Towns of the 80's, at one time adjacent to Covina's boundaries—Irwindale, Gladstone, and Vineland.

As in his earlier study *Glendora*, Mr. Pflueger emphasizes anew that local history can be both significant and exciting and that "it was through dogged determination and grit of the early settlers who stuck it out that made them the heroes of our past."

With a *Foreword* by John Walton Caughey, a pleasing format and skillful composition of Grant Dahlstrom, and fifty-three well chosen photographs, this is a splendid history of a typical transplanted 'Mid-Western' American Protestant town, located near the foothills in the San Gabriel Valley, called Covina.

Anna Marie Hager, president of the Historical Society of Southern California, is a specialist on the history of the Southland.

Still Flying and Nailed to the Mast: The First Hundred Years of the Firemen's Insurance Company. By William Bronson, Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1964. 192 pp. $5.95.) Reviewed by John B. McGloin, S.J.

A dramatic telegram was sent from San Francisco on April 21, 1906, to all the managers of the Firemen's Fund Insurance Company; when it was filed, an earthquake followed by many fires had done its cruel work. But the telegram read as follows: "All hands safe and well . . . The Firemen's Fund flag is still flying and nailed to the mast. [signed] Wm. J. Dutton, President." Appropriately, the centennial history of the Fireman's Fund Company has the latter phrase for its title.

In the thoughtful introduction contributed by a distinguished San Francisco historian, Oscar Lewis, the point is made that many company histories "make extremely dull reading–dull not only to the public at large but members of the organizations themselves. "Happily, this is not true of the Bronson book: here there is the felicitous combination of a corking good story, replete with San Franciscana and Californiana at its best, which is told by an experienced writer who knows how to delve into archives and come forth with some most interesting materials. When one combines these features with the added fact that Bronson amply demonstrated that this book did not come out of the imbalance of some advertising department or publicity bureau (i.e., all focus, no perspective, etc.) but that its narrative is set nicely in background (e.g., the coming to California in 1849 of a young Argonaut, David Jackson Staples, is reported through his interesting diary–and Staples was to manage the Fireman's Fund from 1866 to 1900), it is evident that no tyro is at work here but an experienced craftsman who knows well his task and brings it to completion with distinction.

Among the occupational hazards of such histories, too, is that, at times, one feels that they are controlled against frankness and truth by the front or back office. That this is not true here is evident to one who reads, p. 22, the author's comments that, in retrospect, the company was wrong in its long standing attitude and dispute with the San Francisco fire companies who thought, correctly, that the company had not honored, as it should, its professed obligations to these companies in the distribution of profits, etc. It is refreshing to read Bronson's frank words: "Although the Company has side-stepped this question over the years, there is no reason to ignore the simple truth any longer. The firemen were right. . . ." Here, then, there is no sign of that kept history which is frequently found within such "authorized" accounts as this.

The surest part of the well-written narrative would appear to be that which concerns the fire and earthquake of 1906: this will surprise none who recall that William Bronson is the author, too, of the excellent *The Earth Shook, The Sky Burned* which, on its publication several years ago, won immediate accolades from the most critical readers–i.e., those who "were there." Since Bronson, then, had such good control of this section of his story, his pages impart a vivid sense of reality as did his pages in the earlier book. Some of the illustrations in the present book are old friends, but others are new and welcome as they continue to verify the saying that a good picture is worth many words. It remains, then, but to congratulate Mr. Bronson for this interesting, authentic, and rewarding addition to San Franciscana and to the business history of the city and of California and the west. Congratulations, too, to those of the Fireman's Fund higher echelon who had the good judgment to commission the right man to write up the story of the significant century.

Father John B. McGloin, archivist of the University of San Francisco and an authority on California's ecclesiastical and secular history, is professor of history at USF where he teaches a course on the history of San Francisco.

Treasure Hill: Portrait of a Silver Mining Camp. By W. Turrentine Jackson. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1963. 254 pp. $5.00.) Reviewed by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr.

Treasure Hill, situated on an eastern Nevada hill, spawned the White Pine Mining District when a rich deposit of silver ore was discovered in 1868. A sizeable rush ensued. When the boom faded two years later, British capital continued to sustain mining operations in the region for almost two decades thereafter. Finally, in abject defeat and financial ruin, the overseas investors withdrew. The White Pine Mining District soon became a ghost-town-area.

W. Turrentine Jackson, professor of history in the University of California, Davis, has authored a significant study in microcosm of a boom-to-bust community on the Far West's mining frontier. Superbly researched and beautifully written, this volume may well, and deservedly so, be considered a "classic" in the subject literature. By his important book, Jackson joins that select group of contemporary historians who have made major contributions to the history of western America's mineral frontier: John W. Caughey, Rodman M. Paul, and Clark C. Spence.

Treasure Hill is a significant book because it is the *total* history of a mining community's birth, life, and death. As such, it is unique. Such diverse subjects as health, newspapers, law and order, recreation, church, school, humanitarianism, government and politics, are gracefully and meaningfully blended with the economic aspects: labor, capital, profit, and loss. Especially noteworthy is Jackson's skilled attention to unravelling the role of British investment. His meticulous research on that aspect of the book is a *tour de force.* On the lighter side, but worthy of more than passing praise, is the vignette treatment of the theater in White Pine County. No social, political, human, nor economic dimension is overlooked in this balanced study.

The University of Arizona Press is to be warmly congratulated for printing such a distinguished contribution to the history of the American West. In addition, the Press is to be applauded for its excellence in topography and design, even if the paper wrapper is a bit jarring. Remove the dust jacket and the collector, student, and historian will find a book which will please the eye and excite the mind—and a book which will stand the test of time and history.

Doyce B. Nunis, editor of the *Southern California Quarterly* and associate professor of history at the University of Southern California, is the author of numerous books and articles on the history of the American West.

Pueblo Gods and Myths. By Hamilton A. Tyler. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1964. 313 pp. $5.95.) Reviewed by Warren A. Beck.

Hamilton A. Tyler, the author of *Pueblo Gods and Myths*, is a landscape artist and this fact is ever present in this work. While living in New Mexico he was impressed with the way the pueblos were a part of their environment. "The buildings, even in desolation, had a simplicity and grace which both challenged the immediate countryside and at the same time were a part of it. There was harmony." Casteñeda, the first writer on Pueblo religion, declared that, "'what they most worship is rain.'" Tyler rephrases his words to read, "What they most worship is a rough harmony in their universe."

In stressing this theme of harmony the author denies that Pueblo religion was intended to buttress the weakest point of their social organization. Instead, he contends that the Pueblos are thoroughgoing realists. "You can clean your field after winter abates without rites, and you can hoe the corn because you have to; but there is undoubtedly more satisfaction, and ease, in tending the crops with rites as well as with a hoe." Their religion may have originated "in compulsive magic calculated to keep spirits working in man's favor, but the extreme emphasis on ritual and ceremony indicates that its function is to enrich a sparse way of life, to establish psychic satisfactions where material ones are hard to come by."

Based mainly on secondary sources there is little that is new in this book. Its most noteworthy contribution is that it synthesizes much of the previous writing on the subject concentrating specifically on "the gods and divine things," a subject frequently overlooked by those authorities who found the ritual and ceremony more interesting. Most interesting is the comparison between Greek and Pueblo theology. Mr. Tyler has taken this approach because he optimistically believes, "there is widespread knowledge of the Greek gods and their ways." The principal god of the Hopi tribe was Masau'u, mainly a god of death. There is an unmistakable analogy between Masau'u and the Christian Devil, and between Masau'u and the Greek god, Hermes. Both Masau'u and Hermes were gods of the underworld who guided the dead souls on their journey to the nether world. In addition, there is comparison with such Judaic-Christian beliefs as the flood, the Eucharist, the role of the Virgin, and many others. There are also analogies with religious practices in other lands and in other periods. Such references give credence to the author's contention that "Pueblo religion is but one response to the same baffling problems which have beset everyone who thinks no matter in what age he lives nor what his conclusions may be."

This work, as one would expect of the University of Oklahoma Press, has attractive format, has an excellent index, and is almost completely free of factual errors. There are, however, some deficiencies. The repeated references to the use of Indians in the mines as a cause of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 is itself a bit of folklore which could have been corrected by consulting a work listed in the bibliography, S. A. Northrup, *Minerals of New Mexico.* The claim that placing Hopi children in white man's schools constitutes brainwashing is, in the opinion of this reviewer, a questionable value judgment. In the preface the author announces that he uses a technique from Greek drama of letting the gods speak for themselves. This results in an extensive collection of statements about Pueblo gods by a variety of authorities. This, in turn, leads to a too frequent use of quotes, many of which could have been more meaningful if they had been paraphrased. More interpretation of the role of religion in the life of the Pueblo Indian would have enhanced the value of this study. The book would also have been improved if the author had not been so on the defensive concerning his subject. The role of religion among the Pueblos is so important that it needs no defense. One wonders also that in the effort to show the harmony of Pueblo religion with its environment that Mr. Tyler does not overstate his case. Finally, this reviewer is of the opinion that scholarly works should not be marred by the use of the first person.

Even with these shortcomings, *Pueblo Gods and Myths,* is "must" reading for those interested in the Southwest, for ethnologists, and for students of comparative religion.

WARREN BECK, associate professor of history at the California State College at Fullerton and formerly at Eastern New Mexico University, is the author of *New Mexico: A History of Four Centuries.*

Be It Enacted: The Creation of the Territory of Arizona. By B. Sacks. (Phoenix, Arizona Historical Foundation, 1964. 200 pp. Cloth $7.50, leather $20.00.) Reviewed by Everett Hager.

Be It Enacted: the Creation of the Territory of Arizona came about through the happy collaboration of John Alexander Carroll, editor of *Arizona and the West*, Bert Fireman, executive vice-president of the Arizona Historical Foundation, and others. While contemplating what should be done to mark their state's Territorial Centennial, an invitation was sent to Dr. Sacks of Baltimore, Maryland, to present, in lecture form his findings of some twenty years research to members observing the Fourth Annual Arizona Historical Convention in Tucson on March 16, 1963. The superiority in content and the literary quality of Doctor Sacks' talk convinced Editor Carroll that this was material to be secured for publication in *Arizona and the West.* The last two issues under Carroll's editorship, numbers 1 and 2 of Volume 5, Spring and Summer, 1963, carried this fine work.

Under the sponsorship of the Arizona Historical Foundation, whose headquarters are in Phoenix, a splendidly printed edition is now available. This work is illustrated with more than forty facsimile documents relating to the Territorial issue, including a facsimile of the title page and a complete reprint of the *Con-*

stitution and *Schedule of 1860* as issued for the provisional government, the first imprint of Arizona.

Unusual is the chapter devoted to the "Proposed boundaries of Arizona, 1856-1863," which with its delineated maps by Don Bufkin depicts the various boundary limits for that period of years. These maps culminate in the finally approved boundary limitations as decided by the Thirty-Seventh Congress of 1863 and which remain as the state boundaries of today.

Dr. Sack's work indicates deep and original research and revises many long accepted and established theories regarding the earlier history covering the formation of the Territory of Arizona. Over the years full credit has been laid to Charles Debrille Poston, referred again and again in numerous journals as the "Father of Arizona." Now with Sacks' findings the limelight will be shared with others. Outstanding among these is Samuel P. Heintzleman, the doughty officer who commanded Fort Yuma, opened up mining opportunities, was a partner in the Colorado River ferry, and played a significant role in Poston's career. Arizona's most active champion of territorial organization, from 1857 to 1860, was Sylvester Mowry, a graduate of the United States Military Academy. A publisher from Cincinnati, Ohio, William Wrightson, later killed by Indians, also served Arizona well and in many ways aided the work of Mowry and Heintzleman. These three, along with Poston, played important roles and lent strong support to the formation of the new Territory.

Attention is called to the first publication of a portrait of Arizona's first governor, Dr. Lewis S. Owings, who was chosen by the provisional government in convention at Tucson in April, 1860. Among the maps reproduced, two fine, folded ones appear in the pocket attached to the back cover. One, the rare R. P. Kelley map of 1860, shows Arizona Territory stretching from the borders of Texas to the Colorado River. The second, Sylvester Mowry's *Map of Proposed Territory*, dated 1857 from explorations by A. B. Gray and others was drawn to accompany the memoir of Lieutenant Mowry, U.S. Army Delegate-elect. It is hoped that additional maps might be made available rather than have them removed for framing (as recommended) and thereby lessen the effectiveness and value to the reader. Removal of maps would weaken the strength and value for future readers and should not be encouraged.

Also included in the stout envelope is a facsimile of the Act of the Thirty-Seventh Congress of the United States, which provided a temporary government for the Territory of Arizona on December 1, 1862, which bears signatures of Senator Galusha A. Grow, of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, of Senator Solomon Foot, and of Abraham Lincoln.

Valuable materials will be found in this volume for those concerned with the the Colorado River, transportation, forts of the Southwest, the California Column, boundaries and surveys, the Overland Mail, Granville H. Oury, and Abraham Lincoln. Particularly excellent biographical studies on Mowry, Poston, Heintzelman, and Wrightson provide much new light on these men.

The work lists many pioneer names and presents a clear blow by blow picture of bringing a territory into existence. It opens up new light about Poston, brings forth new information in regards to Heintzleman's helpfulness, and shows how instrumental others proved to be to Poston. In the end, it was the suave politicians in far off Washington who turned the trick in the final creation of the New Territory of Arizona in 1863.

EVERETT HAGER, a member of the Zamorano Club and of the Los Angeles Corral of the Westerners, is a serious student of California and Southwest history.

Frontier Life in Oklahoma. By Allie B. Wallace. (Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1964. 136 pp. $4.50.) Reviewed by Edwin C. McReynolds.

Reminiscences of pioneer life, providing sharp contrast with an age of electrons and specialized skills, are almost as numerous as surviving pioneers. Two qualities are indispensable for a book of lasting value on pioneering experiences. First, the account must be a genuine record of real life; and second, the story must show keen discrimination between what *is* and what *was*. The book must compete with oral story-tellers, and selected incidents, as well as products of the press. The field is not only crowded; it is highly competitive.

Mrs. Wallace has provided her picture with both of these essentials and with an abundance of understanding, to give depth to the picture. The twine crow's foot on the covered wagon journey to Oklahoma as a device for filling an extensive period of inaction for active children, the rest of co-ordination, patting the head and rubbing the chest, the jack rabbit "loping along casually with his long ears lying flat against his head," the patchwork quilts under the wagon-sheet, the delicious biscuits cooked in the three-legged skillet over the campfire—the reader knows that five-year-old Allie Stewart was there on the Oklahoma prairie in 1893.

The child's first impression of the Cheyenne Indians, and her gradual acquaintance with their ways, is a little treatise on Indian-European relations. Religious activities in the Stewart home, and the services of frontier preachers in schoolhouses or summer shelters erected by the use of poles and prairie hay, are described with faithful accuracy. Sermons filled with "deathbed scenes" and descriptions of "an impending red-hot hell" were the regular spiritual diet. Services that began with a "sort of pep meeting" in which members of the congregation were given an opportunity "to testify for Christ," were standard procedure. Allie's mother and father "served the Lord" by providing food and shelter for the preachers and also feed for their horses.

McGuffey's readers, in the subscription school and the district school which followed it, seemed to be the center of scholastic attention—not to be confused with the truly important social attention given to Blackman, Stink-Base and Two-Old-Cat at recess and noon hour. The personality of teacher was an important factor of each school term. The German boy who seemed to delight in punishing delinquent pupils; the German girl of sixteen who made up for lack of knowledge by good-natured enthusiasm and tact; and "Old Man Penn," who "probably had never finished grade school," are all real persons appearing on the pages of her book just as Allie saw them.

There were Sunday visits with neighboring families, dinners at which children appeared only at the second table and assumed that a chicken was a fowl with no other part beside a neck. There were trips in the big-road-wagon to Cloud Chief, where several dozen frame shacks and dug-outs, the public watering trough, the stores with false fronts, and the 20 x 30 foot courthouse impressed Allie with their metropolitan splendor. More impressive still were the visits inside the stores, where the "exotic smells of the big bolts of calico" were in competition with "canton flannel," muslin and other textiles, and the "exciting aroma" of Lion or Arbuckle coffee.

The author's childhood can be traced, in part, by the verses that appealed to her through the years. Poems from McGuffey's readers, doggerel shouted by vendors of "ice cold lemonade," rhyming weather omens, verses written by boys in albums, "My Sweetheart Went Down in the Maine," and Miller Boy, came to her attention and became part of her personal background—as they did for her contemporaries. *Frontier Life in Oklahoma* is rich in revealing touches concerning the lives of real people. It is significant because its familiar scenes and episodes are presented with refreshing honesty.

Edwin C. McReynolds, professor emeritus of history at the University of Oklahoma, is a specialist on the state history of Oklahoma. Dr. McReynolds is the author of *Oklahoma: A History of the Somer State; The Seminoles;* and *Missouri: A History of the Crossroads State.*

Race and Radicalism: The NAACP and the Communist Party in Conflict. By Wilson Record. (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1964. 237 pp. $5.95.) Reviewed by Joseph Boskin.

This is Professor Wilson Record's second work on the relationship between the American Communist Party and the American Negro Community. An earlier important volume, *The Negro and the Communist Party* (1951), explored the unsuccessful attempts of the CP to enlist the Negro in its revolutionary objectives. This volume carries the analysis further by detailing in historical and political form the interaction between one of the most powerful Negro organizations in the twentieth century, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Communist Party.

Professor Record's conclusions are familiar to students of racial and radical movements; the study of the processes, however, are the author's contribution to the subject. Judiciously presented, cogently argued, and carefully documented, Professor Record's work is an integral part of the "Communism in American Life" series, a collective project directed by Professor Clinton Rossiter and sponsored by the Fund for the Republic.

Organized chronologically, the book systematically analyzes the origins, antagonisms, tactics, and institutional differences between the NAACP and CP. Hostility, overt and seething, between the two competing organizations, was inevitable. Not merely in terms of roots, but, as Professor Record demonstrates, in the methods and goals employed as well, the two groups have remained relatively consistent and diverse. The CP, too often used by its parent organization in the Soviet Union, has been avowedly a radical movement bent on altering the basic economic and social structure of American society; the NAACP, by contrast, has emphasized gradual, legalistic and nonviolent methods to attain its aims. For these reasons, the CP has remained a force essentially apart from the major patterns of American history whereas the Negro association has been an inherent part of the "traditional" struggle of the underprivileged, ethnic group to make the American dream a reality; that is, as Record wryly states, "to get into the super-market rather than to burn it down" (222).

Historical and ideological differences have made for organizational diversity as well. The NAACP, in arguing its case for Negro equality through the court system, has been largely an open group. To attain its ends, the CP has been forced by prevailing institutions, both local and federal, into a semisecret enclave, thus preventing it from achieving widespread support. In those countries where the party was permitted to flourish actively, it was powerful and influential; where it was harassed and constantly bludgeoned, the party, by nature and the instinct for survival, went underground. When contrasted with the NAACP, therefore, the American CP has been ineffective in its drive to organize the Negro. The Negro has not wanted "out" but "in," and as long as public pressure kept the CP on the defensive, the Negro remained away in droves.

Indeed, it is significant that during the Great Industrial Depression, a time when the CP developed a more pragmatic approach to socio-economic change to attract more to its fold, the unemployed and hungry Negro switched his allegiance from the Grand Old Party to the party of Franklin D. Roosevelt. By the 1940's it was the NAACP which was emerging as the powerful lever of change for the Negro. Although the NAACP had to constantly fight the CP, the lethargy of segments of the Negro community, organizational weaknesses, and financial difficulties, it was capable nonetheless of utilizing traditional American weapons such as the courts to shorten the gap between reality and dream.

Consequently, the CP endeavor to eliminate the NAACP as a contender for Negro support ended in failure. As Record conclusively shows, it could not have been other otherwise. For the American Negro is in large instance a cultural reflection of American values and attitudes.

Joseph Boskin, a doctoral graduate from the University of Minnesota, is a specialist in United States social history. Currently, Dr. Boskin is an associate professor of history at the University of Southern California.

The California Missions: A Pictorial History. By Paul C. Johnson et al. (Menlo Park, Lane Book Company, 1964. 322 pp. Deluxe edition $12.75, with slip case $14.50.) Reviewed by Francis J. Weber.

This richly illustrated tome on *The California Missions* is the latest in a series of publications from the Lane Book Company of Menlo Park. Designed by Adrian Wilson, the volume was prepared by the editorial staff of Sunset Books under direction of Paul C. Johnson. Harry Downie, renowned "restorer" of California missions and curator at Carmel, was the major historical and architectural consultant.

Four preliminary chapters provide a broad outline of the Golden State's provincial history and trace, in a general manner, the overall story of El Camino Real. The following twenty-one chapters treat the individual missions, in the order of their establishment. Chief value of this publication will surely prove to be its remarkable assortment of 246 illustrations, fifty-two of them in full color. A number of well-executed sketches are scattered through the book along with scores of useful maps, plot plans and drawings. Several appendices touch on such related subjects as mission patronage, California pioneers and provincial recipes. A handy "Visitors Guide" locates the twenty-one missionary foundations and lists their present-day facilities.

That a number of minor errors have found their way into the text is understandable in a project of such dimensions. We list them here merely for correction in future editions: Father Fermín Lasuén was only sixty-seven (not eighty-three) years old when he died in 1803 (p. 26); the quarters for women at the missions was known as the *monjería* (p. 35); Mission San Gabriel is staffed by the Claretians, not the "Clareton Fathers" (p. 101); José Arrillaga was not the "first Spanish governor of Alta California" (p. 220); the fourteenth mission is known simply as San José. Even though the name of the adjacent river has come to be associated with the present city, there is not a single document in provincial times referring to the mission under the title of "San Jose de Guadalupe" (p. 225); the reference to "San Fernando Rey de España" on page 261 is obviously a typographical error.

Although the text of *The California Missions* is basically a compilation of earlier studies, the volume has a distinctive character in so far as it brings together the most representative set of mission illustrations ever assembled in a single source. Without any question, this pictorial history will form the cornerstone of the many fine publications of Sunset Books. The quality of its reproductions, the readability of its text and the attractiveness of its binding qualify this colorful edition as a "must" in the private and public book collections of California.

Father Francis J. Weber, archivist of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles and author of several books on Catholicism in California, is a professor of church history at Queen of Angels Seminary in San Fernando.

Book of Remembrance

1964

Carl E. Ahlberg
David Powell Andross
Constant Auger
George Washington Baker
Edward A. Balling
Dale Lincoln Blanton
John F. Brady
Leon Ransom Brooks
Viola Mavis Hudson Brooks
Walter D. Brown
Mildred Campbell
Henry Coffin Carlisle
Marjorie Susan Carlton
Edward J. Carrillo
James Frederick Chappell
Gilbert Oliver Clayton
Mary Adeline Robinson Clayton
Dorothy Metzner Cookson
Oscar Cooper
Harry Innes Thornton Creswell
Ralph Herbert Cross
Eliza Paulina Maria Ygnacia
 Clara Elizalde Curletti
Lucie E. Northup Dobbie
Della Kruger Dunbar
Houghton Durbrow
June Wiley Durbrow
Ephraim Dyer
Mabel C. Edgar
Florence Hellman Ehrman
Mark C. Elworthy
James N. Eschen
Nellie Judge Etcheverry
Morton R. Gibbons
Alma M. Gillig
Allan Deane Glendenning
Mary Rust Goddard
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Helen Louise Stadfeld Gray
Donnell Greely
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John J. Hillard
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Barrett G. Hindes
Herbert Clark Hoover
 31st President of the United States
Worth Dixon Howard
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Dixwell Pierce
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Frederick William Quandt
Scott Rountree
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Thomas Slavin
Charles Elliott Stevens
Anna Barrows Stewart
Clara Bishop Swift
Douglas G. Tait
Paul Tebow

Ida Wickson Thomas
Marie Taylor Todd
Jules Emil Toussaint
Marion E. Utt
Mary Ellen Van Mavern
Harvey Van Pelt
Louise Otis Wagner
Mattie Whittier Weir
Artye Beesemyer Welch
William Franklin Whittier
Henry S. Yee
Alexander J. Young

1965

William Woods Adams
Roscoe Lewis Ashley
James B. Black
Benjamin Boas
Della Beach Bogen
Frederick Cullon Botsford
Frederick L. Botsford
Nicholas G. K. Boyd
Thomas Hugh Buckingham
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Elvira Hobbs Cahill
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Frederick C. Cordes, M.D.
William F. Cordes
Hewitt Davenport
Stanley F. Davie
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Mary Dunphy
Gayle Fisher
John Franklin Forbes
William J. Gilman
Mary Belle Moore Glover
William Morrell Hale
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Dudley Heron
Carolyn W. Hildebrand
Walter L. Huber
Sheldon W. Kellogg
Nathan Levin
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Sarah Mohun Mongan
James Samuel Moore, Jr.
Mabel Emily Morrison
Alice Treanor Oddie
Mary McLean Olney
Arthur Page
Emilita Ralston Page
Violet Paterson Pierpont
John T. Pigott
Eleanor H. Pritchard
May Francis Riley
Glendon J. Rodgers
Susan Teegarden Smith
Charles Wade Snook
Thomas Winthrop Streeter
Tullius Albert Strobridge
Harold Francis Taggart
Paul Tebow
William Peter Von Husen
Mae B. Wilkin
Maurice Zuckerman

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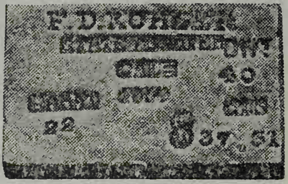

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